



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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American Imperialism, Anthropology and Racial
Taxonomy in the Philippines, 1898-1946

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Ph.D.

The University of Edinburgh

2019

SIGNED DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, entitled 'American Imperialism, Anthropology and Racial Taxonomy in the Philippines, 1898-1946' has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own. I confirm that this thesis is being submitted for the doctoral degree in Science and Technology Studies.

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ABSTRACT

Racial classification and taxonomy of the population in the Philippines was formed primarily based on the colonial perception of race. In the time of the Spanish colonial era that spanned across three centuries, the population was segregated into the categories of Christians and the non-Christians. During the American occupation from 1898 to 1946 the American administration continued with the construction of racial categories in the Philippines propelled by Anglo-Saxon sentiments and based on anthropological theories and methods. A hierarchy of the population was formed, delineating first the Christians from the non-Christians, then further classifications were made based on ethnological characteristics.

In this study, the racial taxonomy of the population in the Philippines is examined in three ways: First, I demonstrate that the archipelago was a focal point of imperial interactions, particularly in the exchanges of knowledge and ideas on race between Spain, Germany, Britain and the United States. Second, I analyse how American colonial institutions studied and governed different racial categories. Third, I amalgamate these discussions by looking at the censuses of the Philippines taken in the years 1903, 1918 and 1939 to demonstrate how racial classifications were standardised as a testament of colonial knowledge. The censuses illustrate how various institutional interactions influenced the categorisation of population, and how each census reflected anthropological knowledge and political currents in the Philippine islands. This thesis finds that racial taxonomy in the Philippines was not created in isolation, but a product of various interactions from imperial and institutional actors. Simultaneously, racial classifications, despite their 'scientific' conceptualisation, were also governed by the peculiarities of the inhabitants, environment and politics of the colonial entity.

Keywords: *racial taxonomy, anthropology, the Philippines, the United States, imperialism*

LAY SUMMARY

History of race is part of the history of colonialism. In the Philippines, race and racial taxonomy is a manifestation of American colonial power's control over the population. By forming racial classification and taxonomy of the population based on attributes related to 'race' at the time, such as physical characteristics, culture, language and religion, the American administrators were able to 1) impose policies to regulate the different 'racial' groups differently and 2) ensure their loyalty by restricting their socioeconomic mobility.

This thesis looks into the process and the different forms of racial classifications of the Philippines under the American imperial control from the year 1898 to 1946. Among the efforts to classify the population was the establishment of institutions that encouraged anthropological research to ascertain the characteristics of the different groups in the population. Some institutions were founded to implement policies that were exclusive to a specific 'racial' group.

Racial taxonomy of the population in the Philippines during the American occupation created a rift between the American occupiers and the Filipinos, and from one group of Filipinos known as the Christians, from those known as non-Christians. These differences were based on the racial superiority of one group in relation to the other. The racial taxonomy was not only a scientific pursuit but also understood in terms of the social and political circumstances of the era, whereby colonialism had justified the subjugation of people deemed inferior and weak. The consequences of racial taxonomy of the Philippines can be seen in many ways until today, such as claims to ancestral lands by tribes formerly known as non-Christians, or the unique administration of the northern mountain region and the southern islands, areas that were formerly classified as 'Special Provinces' due to the majority of non-Christian population in these regions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not be made possible without the constant guidance from my supervisors, Dr Lawrence Dritsas and Dr Lukas Engemann. Their patience, candour and dedication helped me realise my vision for this project. I would also like to thank the STIS community for all the tips, talks, feedbacks, and camaraderie; without which I would find it difficult to settle down in Scotland and embark on my PhD journey. I want to give thanks to the academics from outside of Edinburgh who had at generously offered me their time and knowledge, notably Carlos P. Tatel from the University of the Philippines Diliman, Paul A. Kramer from Vanderbilt University, and David Ludwig from Wageningen University in the Netherlands. I extend my gratitude to my sponsor, the Ministry of Education Malaysia and the University of Malaya for giving me the opportunity to pursue my dream. I also would like to express my sincerest thanks to my examiners, Sandra Khor Manickam and Richard Baxstrom for their comments and output.

Settling down in Scotland would not be possible without the love and support from my parents, Ariffin and Nora, and my siblings, Izmir, Hana and Amir. I also would like to take this opportunity to express my love and thanks to my friends in the UK and in Malaysia for their encouragement and support when I am away, and their warm welcomes whenever I came home. It is without a doubt that all that I have accomplished was made a reality through the devotion and encouragement from my husband, Faiz. I thank you, darling.

Lastly, I would like to convey my deepest, humblest gratitude to the people of the Philippines. I thank you for your parts in my growth as an educator and a historian. I hope this work does justice to your history and your futures.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNED DECLARATION.....	I
ABSTRACT.....	II
LAY SUMMARY	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IV
LIST OF TABLES, MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.....	IX
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	XI
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 OVERVIEW	1
1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	3
1.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	5
1.3.1 A Spanish Colony	6
1.3.2 America Advances	10
1.3.3 Establishing Control in the Western Pacific	13
1.3.4 Colonialism and The Evolution of Racial Taxonomy in the Philippines	18
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION.....	24
1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY	25
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY.....	26
1.7 RESEARCH METHOD	27
1.7.1 Primary and Secondary Sources: Issues and Limitations.....	28
1.7.1.a Criteria of Primary and Secondary Sources in this Research.....	29
1.7.1.b 'Native Voice' in the Primary Sources	30
1.7.2 Multiple Narratives and the Ecological Framework.....	33
1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS	35
CHAPTER 2 ANALYTICAL TOOLS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	37
2.1 INTRODUCTION	37
2.2 APPROACHING RACE AS A SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT	38
2.2.1 Common History and Binding Ideology: The Anglo-Saxon Hegemony	41
2.2.2 The Appeal of Darwinism	44
2.3 ANTHROPOLOGY, COLONIALISM AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.....	48

2.3.1 'Child of Imperialism': History of Anthropology and Colonialism	48
2.3.2 American Anthropology and Scientific Study of Race.....	54
2.4 THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES:	
A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSES.....	56
2.4.1 American Ethnology in the Philippines	57
2.4.2 Reflecting Evolutionism and Race in the Philippines:	
Contemporary Scholarship	61
2.4.3 Categorisation and Racialisation in the American Colonial Administration	66
2.4.4 Filipino Historians and the American Occupation	70
2.5 SUMMARY OF THE REVIEW	78

CHAPTER 3 RACE, ANTROPOLOGY AND IMPERIALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES	80
3.1 INTRODUCTION: INTERDEPENDENCIES AND INTERACTIONS BETWEEN IMPERIAL ACTOR	80
3.2 KNOWLEDGE-EXCHANGE AND COLONIAL LEGACY, 1860-1898:	
SPAIN, GERMANY, BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES	84
3.2.1 Spain and Germany: Intellectual Dynamism and Preclusion of Imperial Ambitions	84
3.2.2 Britain and the United States: Darwinism across the Atlantic	89
3.2.3 Spain and the United States: Inheriting a Colonial Legacy	91
3.2.4 Germany and the United States: Formation of Intellectual and Diplomatic Ties	96
3.3 NATIONALISM AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1898-1905:	
GERMANY, BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED STATES.....	99
3.3.1 Germany and the United States: Anthropology and the Challenge of Nationalistic Race Theories.....	99
3.3.2 The United States and Britain: Anglo-Saxon Rivalry in the South China Sea.....	103
3.4 CONCLUSION: COMMITMENTS AND REGRESSIONS	108

CHAPTER 4 AGENTS OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION: THE BUREAU OF NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES AND THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT, 1898-1946	113
4.1 INTRODUCTION	113
4.2 THE BUREAU OF NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES/ THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	116
4.2.1 Background and History	116
4.2.2 The Bureau of American Ethnology and the BNCT	123
4.2.3 Christians and non-Christians: Categorisation and Racialisation of the Filipinos.....	130
4.2.4 Theories and Methods of Research	137
4.2.4.a. Measurements as Racial Determinants.....	139
4.2.4.b. Observing the Natives: Ethnography.....	144
4.2.4.c. Anthropological Photography	146
4.3 TAXONOMY IN ACTION: RACIAL DICHOTOMY AND RACIALISED POLICIES	153
4.3.1 Exhibitions and Exposition: Display and Classification of Colonial Bodies.....	154
4.3.1.a. The Philippine Exhibition at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.....	154
4.3.1.b. Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce and the National Museum of the Philippines	158
4.3.2 'Special Provinces': The Mountain Province and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.....	160
4.3.3 Department of Public Instruction	166
4.3.4 Bureau of Health	171
4.4 CONCLUSION: INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTIONS.....	179
 CHAPTER 5 THE PHILIPPINE CENSUSES: FROM SCIENTIFIC TAXONOMY TO 'NATIVE VOICE'	182
5.1 INTRODUCTION: THE MEANING OF CENSUS	182
5.2 THE CENSUS AS A COLONIAL TECHNOLOGY	184
5.3 THE THREE AMERICAN CENSUSES OF THE PHILIPPINES	188
5.3.1 The Census of 1903: Consolidating Knowledge of the Philippines.....	189

5.3.2 The Census of 1918: Filipinization of an Americanized Census	200
5.3.3 The Census of 1939: Nation-Building and Record of National Wealth.....	208
5.4 CONCLUSION: CENSUS AS PART OF THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE	212
 CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION.....	216
6.1 CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH	216
6.2 REFLECTING ON RACE AND RACIALISATION IN THE PHILIPPINES	221
6.2.1 The Politics of Taxonomy and Scientific Practice	221
6.2.2 Prevalence of a Colonial Taxonomy	224
6.3 LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH.....	229
6.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	230
6.5 THE DISSOLUTION OF RACIAL CATEGORIES OR FRAGMENTED IDENTITIES?	231
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	233
GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND CIRCULARS	233
UNIVERSITY OF PHILIPPINES DILIMAN ARCHIVE AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS	236
IFOR B. POWELL COLLECTION, SOAS SPECIAL COLLECTIONS	236
PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES.....	237
SECONDARY SOURCES	241

LIST OF TABLES, MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>Page Number</i>
Table 1-1	Changing Definitions of Names of Racial Groups/ Tribes in Colonial Sources 19
Table 1-2	Different Racial Classifications of the Population of the Philippines, 1868-1947 22
Table 1-3	Components of the Research Question and Their Definitions 24
Table 5-1	National Distribution of Personnel for the Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903 191
Table 5-2	List of Christian Tribes as found in the <i>Census of the Philippine Islands, 1905, volume II: Population</i> 197
Table 5-3	Classification of non-Christian Tribes as listed by David Barrows in <i>volume I, Census of the Philippine Islands, 1905</i> 197
Table 5-4	Classification of Racial Groups in the <i>Census of the Philippines 1939, Volume II</i> 210
 <i>List of Maps</i>	
Map 4-1	Distribution of the two racial groups, Christians and non-Christians, in the <i>Atlas de Filipinas</i> 133
Map 4-2	Distribution of the three groups of Filipinos in the <i>Boletín de Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid</i> , based on classifications by Ferdinand Blumentritt 162

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>Page Number</i>
Figure 4-1	Natives with an American officer 148
Figure 4-2	Negritos in a 'natural' pose and background 149
Figure 4-3	Anthropometric portraits of Bilibid prisoner 150
Figure 4-4	Group of Moros from the River Pulangi and their Dato (Chief) 151
Figure 4-5	Moro chief and his family 151
Figure 4-6	Manguianes women 152
Figure 4-7	Igorot village at the Philippine Exhibit, Louisiana, 1904 157
Figure 5-1	The main racial classification in the Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 193
Figure 5-2	Distribution of 'civilized tribes' and 'wild tribes' in the Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 194

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BNCT	Bureau of non-Christian Tribes
DPI	Department of Public Instructions
IPRA	Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act
CADC	Certificate of Ancestral Domain

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Interviewer: What kind of stereotypes do Filipinos have of [a] half-white Filipino?

Half-white Filipina: Well, definitely a big stereotype is that we're rich. And also the beauty standards here...people here always think that being white is beautiful. And I think, generally, people are more...um...gentle [towards] "beautiful" people.¹

In the interview between a journalist from the popular YouTube channel, Asian Boss, with a half-white Filipino depicts the common perception among Filipino that 'whiteness' and social affluence correlates. From 2018, Asian Boss released a series on being mixed-race in the Philippines, among which looks into the Filipinos' perception of half-white/half-black Filipinos, and of what it meant to be half-white Filipino in the Philippines. The perception on mixed-raced Filipino was acquired through a series of semi-structured interviews from random passers-by in the city of Manila. It is apparent from the series of podcasts made on the Philippines that standards of beauty, stratification of class based on skin-colour are not new topics to be asked to Filipinos. Asian Boss has done several series on numerous issues affecting people in South Korea, India, China, and Japan, but for the Philippines it was the issues of being racially 'mixed' that is put at the forefront. Asian Boss dedicate a topic to a specific place based on how potent the issue is for the designated population, thus it can safely be concluded that due to issues of skin-colour and the formation of social class in the Philippines. White (or fair) skin, while may not be the beauty standard for all Filipinos, has been argued to be a manifestation of a racial hierarchy in the Philippines. The indicator of hierarchy based on skin colour, among other criteria of racial differences, evokes enquiry into the central theme in this thesis—racial taxonomy. According to Joanne Laxamana Rondilla, Spanish and American colonisation of the Philippines are the main reasons why light-skinned is desirable and

¹ Asian Boss. 'Being Half-Filipino in the Philippines'. YouTube Video. Duration: 14: 38 minutes. (22nd November 2018). URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nJnn2d2XVw>. Accessed 23rd January 2019.

used as an indicator of a person's status in society. Rondilla further argues, the fairer the person, the more he or she is likely to be perceived as educated and wealthy, and thus more deserving of respect from the society². This notion of skin- colour and race calls for a historical interpretation into the way race was organised and categorised during the Philippines' colonial period.

In this thesis, the taxonomy of the population in the Philippines is explored through the historical connections between anthropology and the colonial administration of the United States during their occupation of the islands from 1898 to 1946. The population of the Philippines is and had always been diverse. Racial or ethnic lines were drawn from the religious, physical, geographical and cultural characteristics observed and recorded by Spanish and American administrators. This was augmented through sentiments Anglo-Saxon affinities between white and western Europeans and the growing popularity of Darwinism during nineteenth century. Ethnological knowledge of the Philippines was also produced by German researchers. Colonial administrations and anthropologists structuralised Filipino society through a racial taxonomy and consequently introduced the notion of racial hierarchy that juxtaposed the colonisers from the colonised.

Issues of race, and racialisation, which refers to the process that identifies and confine racial identity through perpetuating policies and perceptions, were the fundamental traits of the American administration of the Philippines. Anthropology, being the most common discipline used to classify the population of the Philippines, primarily through the creation of the Bureau of non-Christian Tribes (BNCT), became a legitimatising medium to demarcate and label the population according to methods that were regarded as scientific. Racial categories were manifested, and even perpetuated in exhibitions, censuses and the colonial policies on education. This study analyses the interdependent and intertwined narratives between anthropology, colonial administration and historical circumstances to present the complexities that underlined perceptions, ideas and methods of science in the construction of a racial taxonomy in the Philippines.

² Joanne Laxamana Rondilla, 'Colonial Faces: Beauty and Skin Color Hierarchy in the Philippines and the United States'. PhD Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, (2012), pp.19-21.

1.2 Problem Statement

Roots and forms of racial taxonomy in Southeast Asia can be primarily attributed to colonial scientific endeavour. The problematisation of racial taxonomy and classification arises from the conflicting contacts between the colonial need to subjugate, and the pre-existing knowledge of tribal citizenship, indigenous sense of self and the rise of nationalism towards the end of colonial rule. Shamsul A.B. and Athi S.M. explain that the outward-versus-inward views of identities were a manifestation of two social realities that co-exist and even were in conflict with one another³. The relation between social realities and racial classifications is emphasised by Sandra Khor Manickam, in which she argues that the situational position of science underlies the formation of racial categories⁴. The problem of racial taxonomy, therefore, arises from different and often conflicting perceptions of native identity as interpreted by the colonial authorities and experienced by the colonised subjects.

The Philippines was particularly problematic due to the classifications that came from two forms of colonial authority—administrative and scientific. The American administration was concerned with the social and political repercussions of racial differences while American anthropologists were interested in how the existing theories on race could be used to explain the origin and evolution of the peoples in the islands. These concerns were directed on a population that were already structuralised on religious terms by the Spanish regime. The United States juggled with existing structures and new objectives as they attempted to form a racial taxonomy of the Filipinos. This thesis will look into the differences between these

³ Shamsul A. B. and Athi S. M. 'Ethnicity and Identity Formation: Colonial Knowledge, Colonial Structures and Transition', from Meredith L. Weiss, *The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia* (London: Routledge, 2014): 267-278, p. 268.

⁴ Sandra Khor Manickam, 'Situated Thinking or How the Science of Race was Socialised in British Malaya', *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 47, no.3, (2012): 283-307, p. 284, pp. 288-289.

classifications and examine how they developed during the American occupation⁵

The United States needed to legitimise their occupation. Leonard Andaya and Bernard Cohn both argue that the legitimisation of colonial occupation was established by the imperial power by demonstration of their knowledge of the occupied territory⁶. This entailed the organisation of the colony in the forms of census enumeration and the creation of a racial classification of the population⁷. Additionally, colonial administration was also inclined to display the accumulation of colonial knowledge by holding exhibitions, building museums and archives⁸. The acquisition of data signified absolute control over colonial possessions, i.e., land, resources and people.

According to Michel Foucault, visual perceptions of language comes from 'limiting and filtering the visible', hereby referring to a mental reconstruction of tangible objects to confer to specific terms and linguistic design. Therefore, the understanding of 'race' in this study must be approached with the distinction between what is currently understood as 'race', or 'racial group', and how the same term was employed by the colonial administrators and scientific institutions in the past⁹. Current historical narratives are careful

⁵ Among the sources which discusses manifestation of colonisation through various forms of bureaucratic and scientific measures are Leonard Y. Andaya, 'Ethnicity in pre-Colonial and Colonial Southeast Asia', in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian History*, ed. Norman G. Owen (London and New York: Routledge, 2014): 267-277 and Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Form of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp.43-46; additionally, refer to Scott Kirsch, 'Insular Territories: United States Colonial Science, Geopolitics and the Re(Mapping) of the Philippines', *The Geographic Journal*, vol. 182, no.1, (2014): 2-14, B.S. Butola, 'Census as an Instrument of Political Technology in the Age of Biopolitics', *Human Geography*, vol. 5, no.1, (2012): 42-62.

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London & New York: Routledge, 1966/2002), p.147.

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London & New York: Routledge, 1966/2002), p.147.

to distinguish 'race' from 'ethnicity' and 'tribes'¹⁰. However, during the nineteenth to twentieth-century, 'race' was an almost universal parlance in scientific and administrative texts. The term 'race' was most commonly used as an ontological reference to physical and cultural differences between human groups¹¹. In this thesis, I will use the term 'race' and 'racial taxonomy' in the same way the colonial entities understood it¹². 'Race' and 'racial taxonomy' are henceforth bound not only by the meanings assigned by scientists, administrators and politicians of the era, but implicitly by what each of these actors' preference for different terms to denote racial categories represent. When writing on colonised subjects, colonial authorities used different nomenclatures to label categories, but the methods employed, and the sentiments which saturated these classifications were essentially and almost consistently racialised.

1.3 Historical Background

Race and racialisation of the Philippines are mostly attributed to its colonial past. Colonial powers enforced various notions of race on the population, including racial hierarchy and Western racial supremacy. The Spanish crown formed a social hierarchy which delineates the Filipinos not only to 'racial' categories, but also religious adherence. The American administration did not entirely replace Spanish classification but added their own sentiments and ideas to an existing structure. Furthermore, both Spain and the United States were responsible for the creation and perpetuation of the principal racial division in the islands—the Christians and non-Christians. A better understanding of this division and the racial classification of the population can be achieved by looking at the history of Spanish and later, the American control of the Philippines. The historical narrative below explains the origin and evolution of colonial rule of the Philippines. This section provides the

¹⁰ Mary Jane B. Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau: The Politics of Cultural Investigation of the non-Christian Filipinos', *Social Science Diliman*, vol.6, no.1, (2010): 1-27, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Carol C. Mukopadhyay and Yolanda T. Moses, 'Reestablishing "Race" in Anthropological Discourse', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 99, no.3 (1997): 517-533, pp. 517-518.

¹² Foucault, *The Order of Things*, pp. 148-150.

background to subsequent discussions on how race and racial classification developed and affected the Filipinos.

1.3.1: A Spanish Colony

Spain ruled the Philippines as part of its vast empire which stretched across the American continent, parts of Africa and the islands on the Western Pacific. Antonio Pigafetta recorded that the first Spanish encounter in the Philippines made by Ferdinand Magellan at the island of San Lazaro on the 16th of March, 1521¹³. In 1564, an expedition led by Spanish lawyer and former secretary of the Spanish government in Mexico, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi was endorsed by King Phillip II of Spain. Legazpi was instrumental to the eventual colonisation of the Philippines that was initiated by the establishment of the first Spanish settlement in Cebu in 1565¹⁴. For the next three centuries, Spain encountered hostilities and challenges from the local population, and at the same time brought about significant changes to the culture and racial demographics of the islands. The establishment of the Catholic Church and a Spanish theocratic regime brought about evangelisation, but since the Spanish colonisers could not establish control on all parts of the archipelago equally, there emerged classes in the population that were recognised as Christians or non-Christians¹⁵.

¹³ Antonio Pigafetta, 'First Voyage Around the World', from *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 33, ed. Emma Helen Blair, trans. James Alexander Robertson (Ohio, 2013), p.17. URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/42884/42884-h/42884-h.htm>, accessed 15th April 2016.

¹⁴ Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide, *History of the Republic of the Philippines* (Manila: National Bookstores, Inc., 1987), pp.64-65.

¹⁵ William Henry Scott, 'The Spanish Occupation of the Cordillera in the 19th Century', in *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations*, ASAA Southeast Asia Publication Series, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus (Quezon City, Metro Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, no. 7, 1982): 39-56, pp. 50-51; Grace Estela C. Mateo, 'A History of Ilocos: A Story of the Regionalization of Spanish Colonialism' (PhD Dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2004), pp.230-238; Ben S. Malayang III, 'Tenure, Rights and Ancestral Domains in the Philippines: A Study of the Roots of Conflict', *Bijdragen tot de Jaal-, Land- en*

Ethnological research during the Spanish colonial era was initiated in the late eighteenth century by Jesuits scholars and German ethnologists. The Jesuits were an essential organisation for research and education in the Philippines, and until their expulsion from the islands in 1768, had contributed substantially to Spanish knowledge of the Philippines, and networked closely with local peoples¹⁶. Upon their return in 1859, the Jesuits revived scientific works in the Philippines. Meanwhile, German scientists travelled to the Philippines, and until the late nineteenth century, were considered valuable to the Spanish Crown as the research undertaken by the Germans assisted Spanish administration. Gradually, this sense of trust between the two European nations will diminish as German engaged in overseas expansion after its unification in 1871¹⁷.

The division of the population into a Christian/non-Christian dichotomy can also be related to the geographical and ethnological condition of the islands before Spanish occupation. The Philippines were, from historical and ethnological observations, part of the Malay Archipelago that consisted of Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Malay Peninsula¹⁸. To Filipino historians, Gregorio F. and Sonia M. Zaide, Filipinos were essentially 'Malayan in race' with a substantial racial mixture from East and West. Additionally, Teodoro A. Agoncillo argues that the Filipino today is 'not pure Malay' but a 'mixture of races'¹⁹. While the generalisation of 'Malayness' can be drawn from the exhibited physical characteristics, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam had been influential in creating distinct cultural attributes of the

Volkenkunde, vol. 157, no.3, *The PHILIPPINES: Historical and Social Studies*: 661-676, p.661.

¹⁶ Aitor Anduaga, 'Spanish Jesuits in the Philippines: Geophysical Research and Synergies between Science, Education and Trade, 1865-1898', *Annals of Science*, vol. 71, no.4 (2014): 497-521, pp.497-499; see also Warwick Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 55, no.3, (2007): 287-378, p.291.

¹⁷ More on German-Spanish interactions in Chapter 3.

¹⁸ Alfred Russell Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (London: Penguin Classics, 1869/2014), pp.14-15.

¹⁹ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, pp.20-21 and p.29 for 'exodus of Malays to the Pacific World'; Teodoro Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1985), p.5.

Filipinos. As Catholicism was preached across the islands and many colonial institutions were built on theological grounds, such as monasteries and universities, a segment of the population that had embraced Christianity slowly became more adapted to the norms and ways of the Spaniards²⁰. Those who were not evangelised grew more hostile of Spain and found little in common with the Christianised Filipinos²¹. In *The History of Sulu*, American historian-physician Najeeb M. Saleeby argues that Catholicism encountered the hostilities of the Muslims in the southern islands. The prevalence of Islam in the south and the growth of Christianity in the north added to the animosity between islands. Gradually, centuries of Spanish colonialism had embedded notions of racial and religious animosity between the different groups of the population. For the Muslim south, their distinct experience of colonisation had its benefit. For three centuries, due to Spanish failure to subjugate the Mindanao and Sulu, the sultans who were ruling the islands were exempted from the laws that governed most of the Philippines and from giving Spain any tribute or taxes²².

The last century of Spanish rule in the Philippines witnessed an escalation of violence by Spanish authorities and attempts to reform Filipino society by a particular group of Hispanicised and educated youth known as the *ilustrados* (the 'enlightened'). The *ilustrados* initiated the Propaganda movement that was aimed to gain recognition that Filipinos were officially subjects of the King of Spain, with ensuing assimilation policies that will deter discrepancies in education and political participation from Filipinos. The Propaganda movement was exceptionally active during the 1870s and 1880s but became

²⁰ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, p.5; Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.20. See also Vincente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993); Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Christianity in Southeast Asia', in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian History*, ed. Norman G. Owen (London & New York: Routledge, 2014): 235-245. Further explanation in Chapter 4.

²¹ Pablito A. Baybado Jr., 'Beyond Colonization: The Impact of History in the Philippines Religious Dialogue', *The Journal of Interreligious Studies*, vol. 20 (2017): 38-53, pp.38-42; Lisa Huang, Victor Musembi and Ljiljana Petronic, 'The State-Moro Conflict in the Philippines', *INAF*, no. 5439, (2012): 1-11, pp. 6-8.

²² Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, 1908), pp. 248-264.

stagnant by the 1890s²³. Among the *ilustrados*' efforts included native publications on Filipino history²⁴. The *ilustrados* aspired to create a nation that embraced existing Hispanic influences and Malayan roots of the country, but they were critical of the unfair treatment received by Filipinos in the Philippines and Spain. The fundamental problem that pervaded the discrimination they experienced was perceived as racially motivated. Their reformed ideas became a challenge to the legitimacy of Spanish rule²⁵.

In 1872 reformation turned into revolution in the colonial Philippines. Andres Bonifacio, former member of La Liga Filipina and key member of the Propaganda movement, founded the Katipunan movement to fight for the independence of the Philippines. The Katipunan prepared for an armed resistance but were caught and captured. Many of its members sought refuge in the jungle and planned to capture Manila. At the same year, Spain declared Martial Law and anyone who was suspected of being a member, or in any way linked to the Katipunan were captured and killed, including its leader Bonifacio²⁶. One of the most successful Katipunan generals was Emilio Aguinaldo, the mayor of Cavite (Kawit). In July 1896, Aguinaldo formed the Biak-na-nato constitution after severely defeating the Spanish army sent to stop the rebellions. The declaration of the Biak-na-bato caused a series of uprisings in other provinces, and eventually, Spain conceded to negotiate with Aguinaldo on terms of a truce. Aguinaldo would go on a voluntary exile to Hong Kong, along with some of his closest allies. The truce did not last, and in February 1898 Spanish army and the Filipino nationalists were locked in another bloody conflict. The fighting persisted until the

²³ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.42-44; Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire: The United States- Philippine Relations, 1898-1946* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Southeast Asian Studies Monograph Number 14 and Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), p.21.

²⁴ For example, Pedro Paterno's *Ancient Tagalog Civilization* (1887) and Jose Rizal's *Noli me Tangere* (1887), in Kramer, op. cit., p.64.

²⁵ Ibid, p.67; Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, pp.240-250.

²⁶ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, pp.127-128; Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, pp.227-228; Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.59.

Americans, led by Commodore George Dewey, defeated Spanish naval forces in Manila on the 1st May 1898²⁷.

The end of Spanish rule and the advent of American forces and reformation on the islands was a critical juncture to the perpetuation of the Christians and non-Christians as categories of the population. It signified the end of a theocratic regime, but the continuity of theological terms that had fundamentally schematised the Filipinos despite the claimed unity of 'Malayness' or tribal classifications. The following historical narrative highlights the formation of an American administration in the Philippines which, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, was built on Spanish colonial legacies.

1.3.2 America Advances

'It was as if the Philippines had dropped into our laps I confess I did not know what to do with them,' said President William McKinley in 1903²⁸. The American acquisition of the Philippines was indeed, in some ways, an unexpected turn of events following the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. However, the pressure from businessmen, senators and stakeholders of the booming economy in the United States to defeat Spain in order to control the Caribbean implied that there were some covert intentions to control the Western Pacific, mainly argued for economic, if not for political reasons²⁹. To foster its industries and support itself in the long-run, the United States eventually participated in overseas expansion.

²⁷ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, pp.138-139; Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.252; Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.32.

²⁸ President McKinley allegedly made this remark to a delegation of Methodist preachers; quoted from H. de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila, Cebu, Makati: Bookmark, 1965), p. 250.

²⁹ Golay argued that there were interrelated reasons for the eventual declaration of war against Spain—to curb Spanish control in the Caribbean, to strike Spanish naval power in the Pacific, and to use the Philippines as a colony and an industrialised port for imperial expansion. See Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.1. Paul Kramer also notes that the arrival of the United States in Manila was 'predicated on three decades of explosive American industrial and imperial growth'; in *Blood of Government*, p.82.

Initially, under the pretext of exceptionalism, the United States restricted colonial activities to lands within North America³⁰. Overseas ambitions were instigated by the success of the Industrial Revolution, which benefited the United States immensely. By the nineteenth-century, 31 256 miles of railroads connected the country and communications were vastly improved by the use of telegraph and steamboats³¹. Cities on the east coast, such as New York and Chicago reformed the economy by focusing on industries such as coals and steel, while the removal of Native Americans from arable lands in the west ensured large-scale farming was possible³². As the economy of the United States flourished, ambitions to dominate Cuban ports—at the time Cuba was the main exporter of sugar for the Americans—seemed relevant and timely³³. The opportunity arose from the escalating violence between Cuban nationalists and Spanish authorities. Americans with commercial interests argued that such violence could potentially be disruptive to their businesses in Cuba. The ultimatum to the declaration of war came with the bombing of an American warship, *USS Maine* on January 1898 allegedly by Spanish soldiers stationed in Cuba³⁴.

The intricacies of the political circumstances during the period between the Philippine Revolution and the Spanish-American war were tied to the concurrent events which took place in the Philippines, Cuba, Spain and the

³⁰ Exceptionalism entailed that the United States opted to distant itself from the conventional mode of colonialism that was prevalent among European imperial powers. See Paul A. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between British and US Empires, 1880-1910,' in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): 43-91, p.44; Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.35.

³¹ Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin History of the USA*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), pp.378- 379.

³² Ibid, pp. 379-380.

³³ See George Brown Tindall with David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992), pp.898-900; Brogan, *History of the USA*, pp.378-384; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons', p.44.

³⁴ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.252 and Tindall and Shi, *America*, p.909.

United States³⁵. The United States began the military campaign in the Philippines in May 1898. Theodore Roosevelt, who was the assistant secretary of the Navy suggested to the president to order Commodore George Dewey to set sail with a naval squadron to the Philippines as soon as a declaration of war was made. The strategy was to cripple Spain on all sides. At about the same time, Filipino insurgents clashed with the Spanish army in Manila and elsewhere in the provinces³⁶.

The façade of assistance came to a bitter end when after the mock 'Battle of Manila' on the 13th August 1898, the Filipino army were denied from entering Manila after Spain was announced as officially defeated by the combined forces of American and Filipino troops. Immediately after suffering loss of lives and control in the Philippines, Spain was involved in critical negotiations with the United States³⁷. Spain finally agreed to the peace terms, which amounted to receiving US\$20 million from the United States on the 29th of November 1898³⁸. The Treaty of Paris signed in 10th of December relinquished the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico to the United States³⁹. The treaty was seen as an American betrayal to Filipino nationalists, many of which had participated in the revolution from very early on. Their dissatisfaction brought about the Filipino-American war (1899-1902)⁴⁰. The term Filipino nationalists

³⁵ Golay, *Face of Empire*, pp.30-32.

³⁶ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.257; Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.32. There were a great number of the 'elites' only participated in the revolution once Spanish forces were defeated in Central Luzon by rebels, i.e. Aguinaldo and his men. See Milagros C. Guerrero, 'The Provincial and Municipal Elites of Luzon during the Revolution, 1898-1902', from McCoy and de Jesus, *Philippine Social History*: 155-190, p.156.

³⁷ Tindall and Shi, *America*, pp.910-912; Brogan, *The Penguin History of the USA*, p.440.

³⁸ 'Spain accepts our peace terms: Protests, however, that they cannot be considered just', *New York Times* (Nov. 29, 1898), 1. Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/95628864?accountid=10673>, accessed on 19th May 2017.

³⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, p.87.

⁴⁰ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, pp.266-267; Brogan, *The Penguin History of the USA*, pp.441-442.

must be used with caution here, for among the elites, there were many who withdrew their support for Aguinaldo when American victory seemed imminent⁴¹.

1.3.3 Establishing Control in the Western Pacific

The Philippine-American War brought an influx of the United States Army to the Philippines, particularly to Manila as the central military and administrative base⁴². The American military government created during the war was given autonomy to make social as well as political decisions, including the organisation of school systems in Manila⁴³. The army's presence was intended to send a message to rest of the Philippines that the United States was a friend to all but the rebels, and the military's policies were grounded on fostering a *benevolent assimilation*. The United States exhibited altruism by establishing education and healthcare systems, though their altruistic gestures struggled to reach large segments of the population, particularly the hostile tribes of the Cordillera mountains and the Moros in the south⁴⁴. Major General Elwell S. Otis, who led the establishment of schools in Manila, was also responsible for leading the violent confrontations against Filipino nationalists. He crushed the forces that gathered in Calumpit led by General Antonio Luna. Despite the bloodshed in the islands, Otis wrote in his report to Washington that the situation in the Philippines was under control. Otis was determined to

⁴¹ Arguably, these elites, referring to the wealthy, land-owning and educated Hispanicised Filipinos were not in support of Aguinaldo from the very beginning of the revolution. See Guerrero, 'The Provincial and Municipal Elites of Luzon', p.155; Renato Constantino, 'Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 6, no. 2, (1976): 129-147, pp. 129-130.

⁴² de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History*, pp.245-246; Pedro Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932* (Colorado, US: Westview Press, 1999), pp. 2-3

⁴³ Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People*, p.9.

⁴⁴ Ibid; Golay, *Face of Empire*, pp.47-62; Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People*, p.124.

ensure minimum interference from Washington as the army struggled to gain control of the islands⁴⁵.

Otis's aspiration was short-lived. Washington sent a commission to survey the islands. The First Philippine Commission, alternatively known as the Schurman Commission, was headed by the president of Cornell University, Dr Jacob Schurman. The commission arrived in Manila on the 4th of March 1899⁴⁶. The commissioners were faced with the difficult task of pressuring the army to negotiate with the rebels and end the war. Otis was convinced that continuing confrontations with the rebels could eventually bring the Philippines under American control, but the commissioners were divided on how to handle the situation; whether they should continue with the fighting, or reconcile with the rebels and retract from their intention to annexe the islands⁴⁷. Rick Baldoz proposes that the eventual decision to proceed with annexation was racially motivated. The declaration of 'maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs' implied that it was the United States' moral responsibility to appease the rebels and extend American tutelage to all Filipinos⁴⁸. At the same time, there was a concern among American statesmen and the public that extending tutelage meant granting the Filipinos citizenship, thus encouraging Filipino migration to the United States⁴⁹. The Schurman Commission was to take these concerns into considerations and suggest a practical solution. The commission submitted a report

⁴⁵ H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.50; Golay, *Face of Empire*, pp.48-50. Otis did receive support from the Negritos, as is stated in the General Order no. 30, 'Negros', 22nd July 1899, PPMS 26/1/3, Files 21-25, Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections. See elaboration in Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.50; Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.48.

⁴⁷ Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.48.

⁴⁸ Rick Baldoz, 'The Racial Vectors of Empire: Classification and Competing Master Narratives in the Colonial Philippines', *Du Bois Review*, vol. 5, no.1, (2008): 69-94, p.83; quote taken from Brands, *Bound to Empire*, p.51. Also see Annick Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines: Rooseveltian Statecraft for Imperial Modernization in an Emergent Transatlantic World Order', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 19, no.4, (2008): 690-711.

⁴⁹ Baldoz, 'The Racial Vectors of Empire', p.83.

recommending that the military government make way for a civil government. The recommendations can be summarised as follows:

- i. The establishment of a territorial form of government with a legislative of two houses.
- ii. Withdrawal of military rule in the pacified areas.
- iii. The conservation of the natural sources in the Philippines for the Filipinos.
- iv. The organisation of autonomous local government.
- v. The opening of free elementary schools, and
- vi. The appointment of qualified men to important government offices⁵⁰.

The recommendations clearly stated the need to end the war and form a civil government. The commission also recommended that there should be 'enforcement of American sovereignty over the entire Philippines'⁵¹. The pressure to end the war, and the need to ensure the loyalty of the Filipinos through a robust pacification process, made the formation of a civil government a more favourable option to military rule.

McKinley sent a second commission in 1900 led by William Taft to honour the recommendations made by the Schurman Commission and to set up a civil government in the Philippines⁵². When the military handed over the authority of the Taft Commission on the 1st of September 1901, there were still a handful of Filipino nationalists in rebellion against the American occupation. By piecemeal, Filipino generals surrendered, fostering a peaceful environment to form institutions⁵³. By 16th of April 1902, the remaining insurgent generals surrendered to the Americans⁵⁴. Brian McAllister Linn observed that the defeat of the nationalists or insurgents were predominantly caused by the disunity of

⁵⁰ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.279.

⁵¹ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, p.162.

⁵² Ibid, 54.

⁵³ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.152.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.275.

the Filipinos, and the failure of the nationalist leaders to unite the diverse population⁵⁵. The Moros in the south, for an instant, were fighting their war and made no claims to be part of the Philippines Republic. On the 20th August 1899, the Bates Treaty was signed to ensure the Moros were pacified⁵⁶. From 1899 to 1902, the Taft Commission effectively pacified the unrests across the country. Then, until 1916, the Taft Commission used its plenary powers to categorise the population and formulate determinative policies as the occupation transcends from the phases of direct rule to an era of Filipinization⁵⁷.

The United States administered the Philippines officially until 1946. On the 23rd March 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved a constitution to form the Commonwealth government of the Philippines. The Commonwealth was given the autonomy of governance and to form an interim cabinet with Manuel Quezon as president and Sergio Osmeña as vice president, and Tagalog was adopted as the national language of the Philippines⁵⁸. In December 1941, Japan invaded the Philippines and created a 'puppet government', which sent the members of the Commonwealth government to exile in Washington. The Japanese were defeated at the Battle of Manila of 1945, and the Commonwealth government was restored. A year later, the independence was fully granted to the Philippines on 4th of July 1946⁵⁹. The United States left legacies observable in the education system, political dependence and more strikingly, on the continuing demarcation of the population into Christians and non-Christians. While the legacies are apparent today in the modern Filipino institutions, Cizel observed that adapting the American model was not always successful for the Philippines:

⁵⁵Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War 1899- 1902* (Chapel Hill: University Carolina Press, 2000), p.167.

⁵⁶Agoncillo, *Filipino History*, p.165.

⁵⁷ Leonard Woods and Cameron Forbes, 'Report of the Philippine Commission', *Current History (New York)*, vol. 15, no.4, (1st January 1922):678-694, p.681. More on Filipinization in Chapter 4.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.212-214.

⁵⁹ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, pp.234-235; Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, pp.341-356; Golay, *Face of Empire*, pp.354-462;

For all the patriotic analogies which climaxed in the proclamation of its independence on 4 July 1946, the Philippine Federation was infused with, yet unable to reproduce the American model.⁶⁰

There are two observations that can be made from the historical narrative presented here on what constitute a discussion on race in the Philippines during American occupation. First, the 'insurgents' and 'nationalists' offered an unequal representation of Filipinos, and did not comprise the entire population. According to Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda Francisco, the lack of a comprehensive narrative that covers the involvement of different classes against colonial powers dispels the possibility to draw generalisation as to what 'insurgents' and 'nationalists' entails. The 'first impressions' that the Americans gathered at the beginning was restricted to their interaction with a specific group of Filipinos made of bourgeois Hispanics⁶¹. When the Americans established control of the islands, the administration took note of the differences between American and Filipinos, as well as between different groups of Filipinos⁶².

Secondly, these encounters were imbued with a saliency of Anglo-Saxonism, manifested behind the racial motivation behind the American occupation of the islands⁶³. The United States saw the Philippines as an opportunity to operate 'an enlightened missionary endeavour' under their Anglo-Saxon superiority, which entailed their superiority not only over Filipinos but also over Spain⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines', p.693.

⁶¹ In 'Philippine Historiography and the De-mystification of Imperialism: A Review Essay', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 4, no.3, (1974): 344-358, pp.349-351.

⁶² Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), pp.2-5.

⁶³ Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.7, p.63; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons', pp.47-49.

⁶⁴ President McKinley in a quote, taken from Golay, *Face of Empire*, p.35; additional discussion on tutelage in Greg Bankoff, 'First Impressions: Diarists, Scientists, Imperialists and the Management of the Environment in the American Pacific, 1899-1902', *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 44, no.3, (2009): 261-280 and Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines 1898-1902* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Sentiments of benevolent assimilation and tutelage were promoted during the Filipino-American war to pacify violence as a way to affirm that the United States was superior imperialist⁶⁵. The intellectual framework that guided American imperialism influenced the nature and forms of interactions established with the Filipinos during the occupation. These two observations are critical to the contextualisation of the American-Filipino interactions discussed in this thesis.

1.3.4 Colonialism and the Evolution of Racial Taxonomy in the Philippines

The history of colonialism in the Philippines contextualises how the population in the region was studied and schematically arranged into racial categories and taxonomy. Yet, the history of colonisation in the Philippines was only a part of a larger narrative of subjugation and racialisation. The advent of different colonial powers in the history here entails different forms of racial classification, which subsequently corresponded to the prevailing theoretical and methodological framework that guided the taxonomic process. Table 1-1 and 1-2 detail the common racial categories that appeared in various Spanish and American colonial sources, demonstrating the diversity of names and classifications aside from the fundamental categories of Christians and non-Christians in the Philippines across its colonial history.

Table 1-1 lists down some of the common names of 'racial groups' that appear in this thesis, and how they have had different meanings in various epochs of Filipino colonial history. Other than identifying the natives as Christians or non-Christians, the Spanish and Americans also used other racial categories that rarely appears in administrative documents. The most common racial categories identified by anthropologists were the Negrito, the Malays and the Moros. The Malays, which consisted of the majority of the population, were either Christians or non-Christians. The Moros were considered to be Malays, but as the group consisted mainly of Muslims, they were also classified as non-Christians. The Negrito was one of the most studied group during Spanish

⁶⁵ This is not to imply that there was always a gentle way. One of the infamous atrocities committed by the United States army was the 'water cure', in which water would be forced down the mouth of a Filipino prisoner as method of extracting information from the prisoner. See Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.142.

and American rule. They occupied the lowest strata of the racial taxonomy in the Philippines and were considered the original inhabitants of the islands. While not as frequently mentioned in anthropological records, the mestizos, or the Hispanicised Filipinos had appeared in administrative records, the censuses and drives the historical narrative in the secondary sources. The American administration classified the Moros and Negritos, as well as other pagan Malays as non-Christians, which made these groups to be the focus of anthropological studies on the population. The mestizos were the sole representative of what was known as Christians. The changes of how each of these groups were defined and identified during the Spanish and the American period based on various sources both from the colonial administration and studies on the islands.

Table 1-1 Changing Definitions of Names of Racial Groups/ Tribes in Colonial Sources

Name of Tribe/Racial group	16 th to 19 th century (Spanish Colonial Period)	Late 19 th to mid-20 th century (American Occupation)
Negrito	<p><i>Negrillos; negrito(s); raza negrita</i></p> <p>Identified by Spanish missionaries who alluded the negritos in the Philippines are comparable to <i>africanos</i>, with many overlapping physiological characteristics⁶⁶. Alfred Russel Wallace grouped in negritos with the Papuans of New Guinea⁶⁷</p>	<p><i>Negrito; Negroid; pigmy; pygmy</i></p> <p>The first two names are evidently taken from Spanish sources. The term 'pigmy' was concocted in reference to the physical attributes of the group. Other names include Aeta, Ata.⁶⁸ The American administration's impression of the negritos resonated with the Spaniards, and consistently placed them at the lower</p>

⁶⁶ Daniel G. Brinton, 'The Peoples of the Philippines', p. 295; *El Archipiélago Filipino: Coleccion de Datos*, compiled by La Misi n de la Campa a de Jesus, vol. 1(Washington: Imprenta de Gobierno, 1900), pp. 154-155; Padilla, 'Anthropology and GIS', pp. 211-212.

⁶⁷ Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 720-721.

⁶⁸ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I: Geography, History and Population* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1905), pp. 454-456; Padilla, 'Anthropology and GIS', p. 210, pp. 214-215.

		stratum of the racial taxonomy ⁶⁹ .
Moros	Moros; Los Moros	Moros; Sámals; Bajaus; Ilano; Joló; Manguindanao; Malanao
	So-called the Moros because they were predominantly Muslim and supposedly possessed similar cultural attributes with the Moors in Spain. The Moros were mainly inhabitants of the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu ⁷⁰ .	The Moro people is described by Barrows as encompassing a broad spectrum of people from the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu. Similar to Spanish reference of the Moros, the classification denotes all 'Mohammedan' tribes of from the southern regions ⁷¹ .
Malay	Malaya; raza Malaya; Malaya mestizo	Malayan; Malay
	According to the <i>Catalogo de Obras</i> , who were the Malays as understood by the Spanish administrators and ethnologists is difficult to ascertain, as they are in several gradation of the racial taxonomy. Joseph Montano organised the Malays into a spectrum, some closer to the negritos, and others to the superior Indonesian race ⁷² . Montano also described the Malays as superior to the Moros, and were predominantly Christians or pagans ⁷³ . Jesuits classified the	The Americans categorised almost the entire population in the Philippines as being of 'Malayan origin', with the exception of the negritos, and in some cases, the Moros ⁷⁴ . To David Barrows, the Malays and the Moros were distinct groups due to different religious adherences. Malays, according to Barrows, were predominantly pagans ⁷⁵ . On the contrary, in the census of 1918, H. Otley Beyer

⁶⁹ Wright described the negritos as 'the least amenable to civilization'. See Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1908), p. 53. URL: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=miun.ahz9180.0001.001>, accessed 23rd January 2016.

⁷⁰ Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines*, p. 44.

⁷¹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, pp. 561-563.

⁷² *El Archipiélago Filipino*, pp. 180-181.

⁷³ Joseph Montano, *A Trip to the Philippines* (published as an EBook, Project Gutenberg, 1886/2004). URL: www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13236. Accessed 20th December 2015, p. 15.

	<p>Malays into two groups in the <i>Atlas de Filipinas</i>- <i>cristianos nuevos</i> and <i>los infieles</i>-signifying that all tribes classified as Malays were either the Christian-mestizos or pagans. Among name of tribes associated with the Malays were the Tagalogs, Visayans (or Bisayans), Ilocanos and the Igorots.</p>	<p>grouped the Moros as Malays, including other non-Hispanic Malays such as the Igorots, Bontoc and Ifugao. The mestizos were placed in different taxa.</p>
Mestizo	<p><i>Cristianos Nuevos; Tagalas</i></p> <p>The mestizos were a sub-category of the Malays. They have Hispanic lineage and professed Christianity. In the <i>Atlas de Filipinas</i>, Jesuits categorised the mestizo as <i>Cristianos Nuevos</i>, and were the Christian extension of the Malays⁷⁶. The Tagalogs formed the majority of Christian-Malays in the Philippines. According to Wallace, the Tagalas were Tagalog/Spanish speaking' Christians⁷⁷.</p>	<p><i>Mestizo; Civilized Filipinos; Christian Filipinos</i></p> <p>The definition of mestizo was being half-Spanish. For the American administration, the mestizos were the opposite of the 'wild tribes' of the Philippines⁷⁸. This group includes the Chinese mestizos⁷⁹.</p>

Table 1-2 shows the different period in the colonial history of the Philippines, and the racial classification that was created at the time. In 1868 and 1882, German scholars proposed two slightly different forms of classifications. This was followed by classifications by American ethnologist, Daniel G. Brinton and another by the Jesuits, compiled by Padre Jose Maria Algue. Both of

⁷⁴ Wright, *A Handbook*, p. 41; David Barrows in the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p. 454; Brinton, 'The Peoples of the Philippines', p. 298.

⁷⁵ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume I*, pp. 510-511; Henry Gannett, 'The Philippine Census', *Bulletin of American Geographical Society*, Volume 37, no. 5, (1905): 257-271, pp. 260-261.

⁷⁶ Algue, *Atlas de Filipinas*, map no. 3.

⁷⁷ Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 709.

⁷⁸ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, pp. 160-163; Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines*, pp. 42-43.

⁷⁹ Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines*, p.43.

these classifications were published at critical time when one colonial regime was replacing the other. Subsequent classifications were done by American anthropologists working in the Philippines. Several important amendments can be seen from the previous classifications, particularly with regards to the use of the population dichotomy Christians/non-Christians.

The presentation of these tables explain two things: that between the two imperial actors that had administered the Philippines, what was defined as Malays, Moros and Negritos were almost consistent, and that there were other racial categories that were formed by scholars before the American rule. What is important to consider in reading this thesis is that racial category was defined and refined by the imperial actor in power, and while there were a series of complex categorisation that were formulated prior to or during the American occupation, the persistency of these racial categories were only significant, as I will demonstrate in chapters 4 and 5, if there were active collaboration with the colonial administration.

Table 1-2 Different Racial Classifications of the Population of the Philippines, 1868-1947

Year	Source/ Author	Classification	Method(s)
1868	<i>Philippine and its Inhabitants</i> , Carl Semper	Ethnic- Negritos and Malays; religious- Pagans, Christians and Muslims (Moros).	Spanish sources; ethnography ⁸⁰
1882	<i>Ethnography of the Philippines</i> , Ferdinand Blumentritt	Negritos, Malays (further classified into fifty-one groups based on geographical and linguistic criteria) ⁸¹	Travelogues, historical and anthropological records ⁸²

⁸⁰ Carl Semper, *The Philippines and its Inhabitants*, (Wurzburg: A Strubers Bookstores, 1868), pp.52-54. URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/24820/24820-h/24820-h.htm>, accessed 16th January 2016.

⁸¹ Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Ethnography of the Philippines*, (Project Gutenberg, 1882/2012). <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/40867/40867-h/40867-h.htm>, accessed 16th January 2016.

⁸² Daniel G. Brinton, 'Professor Blumentritt's Studies of the Philippines', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1899): 122-125.

1898	<i>The Peoples of the Philippines</i> , Daniel G. Brinton	Mixed tribe of N. Luzon; the Tagals and Bicol of C. and N. Luzon; the Bisayas of the central archipelago; the Moros of Mindanao and the southern islands.	Anatomical and anthropometric measurements; linguistic ⁸³
1899	<i>Atlas de Filipinas</i> , Padre Jose Maria Algue	<i>Hispanic, moros, cristiano nuevos y los infieles</i>	Religious distribution identified through cartography ⁸⁴
1905	<i>Census of the Philippine Islands 1903</i> , The Bureau of Census	Civilised tribes: Categorised to eight linguistic groups; wild tribes/ non-Christians: Categorised to eight groups based on linguistic and physical diversity ⁸⁵	Ethnography, specifically the questionnaire by the fieldworkers from the Bureau on non-Christian Tribes. ⁸⁶
1920	<i>Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines</i> by H. Otley Beyer (in the Report of the Census of the Philippines 1920)	Non-Christian Tribes; further categorised into three groups: Pigmies/ Negritos, Indonesians and Malays	Ethnography ⁸⁷
1947	<i>The Philippine Saga</i> , H. Otley Beyer and Jaime C. de Veyra	Negrito, Indonesian, Malay, Chinese; others/ Mixture: Indian, European, American, and Arab	Ethnography ⁸⁸

⁸³ Brinton, 'The Peoples of the Philippines', pp.82-84.

⁸⁴ Algue, *Atlas de Filipinas*, map no. 3.

⁸⁵ 'Total Population', *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II: Population* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1905), pp.16-17.

⁸⁶ 'Total Population', *Census of the Philippine Islands, Volume II 1905*, pp.16-17.

⁸⁷ H. Otley Beyer, 'Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines' published in the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920, Volume II: Population* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), pp. 41-42.

https://archive.org/stream/censusofphilippi01phil/censusofphilippi01phil_djvu.txt, accessed 16th January 2016.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

1.4 Research Question

The research question that guides the research is:

How did the interactions between significant actors in anthropology, the American colonial administration, and the local population contributed to the formulation of racial taxonomy in the Philippines?

The 'actors' in the research question refers to the drivers in the historical narrative that were of consequence to the formation of racial classifications and racialisation policies in the Philippines. The history of this formation constitute relationships and interactions and that were part of a larger network of imperial powers circulating the 'universal' ideas of race. The definition of each component are in Table 1-3.

Table 1-3 Components of the Research Question and Their Definitions

COMPONENT	DEFINITION
<i>Anthropology</i>	Anthropology is understood here as American anthropology, anthropological institutions, and studies from other imperial powers that were accepted within the circle of American anthropology.
<i>American Colonial Administration</i>	Referring to administrators that were in service to the government of the United States based in the Philippines. The 'colonial' reference here denotes the explicit and legally codified intervention in the governance of the islands ⁸⁹ .
<i>Local Population</i>	This is referring to both the Christian and non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines, and may interchangeably, albeit historical

⁸⁹ As defined by Julian Go, 'Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines', in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: A Global Perspective*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): 1-42, pp.4-5.

	discrepancies, referred to as 'Filipinos' ⁹⁰ .
<i>Racial Taxonomy</i>	This term refers specifically to the organisation of racial groups into a hierarchy, suggesting the superiority versus the inferiority of one group over another. The reference of this term largely relies on the colonial situation ⁹¹ .
<i>Racial Classification/ Racial Category</i>	This term is used to denote scientific and social categories that were used by the administrators to organise and structuralise the local population ⁹² .

1.5 The Scope of the Study

The scope of the study focuses on the period of the American occupation of the Philippines, from 1898 to 1946. The reference to the science of race encompasses the theories and methods that were prevalent from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. I also engage with ideas, events and developments which took place outside the Philippines and the marginal colonial actors crucial to the formation of racial ideas in the islands. This is an intellectual, social and political history encompassing imperial entities, ideas and institutions that had direct and indirect roles in the racial taxonomy of the Philippines. The defining boundary of interactions is drawn from immediate and relevant historical precedence to scientific ideas, anthropological works, political alliances and colonial presence in the Philippines. It is important to clarify that I am not presenting a cohesive history of imperialism of the Philippines, and that justifies the limitation of focus given to several actors⁹³.

⁹⁰ Malayang III, 'Tenure, Rights', p.661; Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.5.

⁹¹ Manickam, "Situated Thinking", p. 284.

⁹² Richard MacMahon, 'The History of Transdisciplinary Race Classification: Methods, Politics and Institutions, 1840s-1940s', *BJHS*, vol. 51, no.1, (2018): 41-67, pp. 43-44;

⁹³ For historical surveys of the Philippines, see Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Republic of the Philippines*; and Agoncillo, *Introduction to Filipino History*. For sources on the history of American occupation and history of racialisation in the Philippines, see Kramer, *The Blood of Government* and Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines*.

My analyses engage with imperial and institutional interactions. *Imperial interactions* are between imperial entities and explains the external conditions from which institutional interactions were formed. *Institutional interactions* are limited to interactions between colonial bureaux in the American-occupied Philippines. This study excludes an in-depth analysis of the history of race before the nineteenth-century and race relations in the United States.

1.6 Significance of Study

This thesis is a critical study of the process and forms of racial categories in the Philippines under the American administration. The focus is on scientific modes and methods of racialisation that influenced the structure of the population⁹⁴. There have been previous studies which look into the racial vectors in Spanish and American colonial administration in the Philippines vital to understanding issues about indigenisation, land tenure rights and political representation in the country⁹⁵. However, these contemporary problems had not been explained in the light of the origin and development of racial thoughts in the region, particularly the division between Christians and non-Christians. This thesis offers a historical explanation to the existing racial division in the Philippines by focusing on the scientific conceptualisation of race that permeated American colonial thoughts during the nineteenth and early twentieth-century, and how racialised policies sustained this division.

⁹⁴ Malayang III, 'Tenure Rights' pp.661-662; Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', pp.1-3; Baybado, 'Beyond Colonization', pp.46-48; Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no.3, (2006): 291-306, pp.291-293.

⁹⁵ For discussions on Philippines' indigenous peoples, see McKay, op. cit., Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.1-7; discussions on land tenure rights for indigenous peoples are in Malayang III, 'Tenure Rights', Titia Schippers, 'Securing Land Rights Through Indigenism: A Case from the Philippine Cordillera Highlands', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 38, (2010): 220-238; problems with representations across all ethnic groups are addressed in Weena Gera, 'The Politics of Representation in Philippine Bureaucracy', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 39, no. 5 (2016): 858-877.

This study reflects on the boundaries of colonial racialisation policies by looking at collateral but powerful imperial entities that, while never formally established political control in the Philippines, had added to the repository of ethnological knowledge of the region. The narrative of interactions from key imperial and institutional actors in the Philippines is critical to explain how colonial knowledge was considered valid and reliable due to its 'universal' appeal. While previous works have looked into how Anglo-Saxonism and political alliances contributed to the formation of racial categories in the Philippines, there has yet to be any study on the relationships between imperial actors built on the acceptance of the universality of race as a scientific concept. This study proposes a new angle on discussing how the 'universality' of science, particularly colonial science, were both transcendental when examined across colonial borders and peculiar in the practice within a specific locality.

This study places the Philippines as a locus of interactions between imperial and institutional actors. This study additionally looks at the idiosyncrasies that emerged in the application of scientific methods and theories in a colonial periphery. The Philippines is situated in this study as an entity which embodies the administrative influences and ethnological studies from different imperial actors, thus adding to a body of literature of how racial history in Southeast Asia and the Western world merged⁹⁶.

1.7 Research Method

The research question is addressed as a historical inquiry. Therefore, I adhere to a historical research process which included several non-linear steps. Another underlying principle which guided the research process is to identify and trace interactions between main actors in the narrative of racial classification in the Philippines. The main steps taken in this study were:

⁹⁶ For imperial relations in the Philippines, see Donna J. Amoroso, 'Inheriting the "Moro Problem": Muslim Authority and Colonial Rule in British Malaya and the Philippines' in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003): 118-147; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons', pp. 43-91.

- i. Identification and collection of sources
- ii. Evaluation of discovered sources
- iii. Creation of coherent minor narratives, and a large binding narrative based on these sources.

The sources that were from the University of Edinburgh, specifically the Main Library, New College Library and Moray House Library. I have also consulted materials from the Central Library of the University of Malaya (UM), Kuala Lumpur, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London and the archives of the University of Philippines Diliman (UPD). My main resources for primary materials are from digitised documents and books from Project Gutenberg.org, Archive.org, and HathiTrust.

1.7.1 Primary and Secondary Sources: Issues and Limitations

In this thesis, the differences between primary and secondary source can potentially affect the means and forms of interactions established between categories of actors. In other words, interactions can only be firmly concluded as vital by their presence in the primary sources⁹⁷. While secondary sources can, and did point out to several forms of interactions, it cannot be construed as part of the larger narrative of race in the Philippines without being validated by primary evidence. The two issues with regards to the sources used are, i) the classification of sources into primary and secondary, and ii) the absence of 'native voice' in the primary sources.

⁹⁷ To determine the 'relevance' of interactions based on how it appear in the primary sources is a subjective process. The 'relevance' of interactions must be empirically determined, while taking into account the subjectivity and arbitrary nature of the process of selecting and interpreting such evidence entails. See E.H. Carr, *What is History*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp.7-30.

1.7.1.a Criteria of Primary and Secondary Sources in this Research

The criteria of 'primary source' is that it should be original and contemporaneous to the period it addresses. Meanwhile, secondary sources are based on primary sources or any other secondary sources⁹⁸. Secondary sources are imbued with the interpretations and meanings of the events and person discussed in the primary source⁹⁹. With these distinctions in check, the following issues arise in the categorisation of primary and secondary sources in this work. My arsenal of sources include among others, the works of early twentieth-century anthropologists, such as Franz Boas, Alfred C. Haddon, and Ruth Benedict. I have to take into consideration that these works were contemporaneous to the American occupation of the Philippines, as all of them were published no later than 1946¹⁰⁰. However, *the contents* of these sources fall into the category of secondary sources. These works mainly discussed theories and methods of anthropology and even historical development of the discipline. These sources were used in this thesis to assert how their influence in the discipline had contributed to the trends of the time. The intellectual culture described or mentioned in these sources forms explains how studies were conducted in the Philippines.

The three clusters of primary sources that are critical in the analyses, and grounds argument on how racial classification was formed in the Philippines are the *Reports of the Philippine Commission* (from 1901 to 1916), the *Censuses of the Philippines* (published 1905, 1920 and 1939), and substantiating government memos and reports. These government

⁹⁸ Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 61; Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London & New York: Arnold Publishers, 2000), pp. 100-101.

⁹⁹ Anne Curthoys and Ann McGrath, *How to Write History that People Want to Read* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p. 57.

¹⁰⁰ The question of 'what is the past?', has been ramified and elaborated by R.G. Collingwood in *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), and David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.63-79. Though the ramifications are too broad of a discussion for this section, it suffices at this point to have some clear criteria to differentiate between the primary and secondary source.

documents include the circulars and research reports of the BNCT and reports of other government institutions.

There are also complementing sources, particularly the Ifor B. Powell Collection stored in SOAS. As a historian of the Far East at the University of Cardiff, and a Rockefeller scholar who had spent time in the Philippines (from 1926-1929) collecting various data on colonial governance, economy and culture, Professor Ifor B. Powell (1902-1985) was well-known among American and Filipino officials. Part of his collection was a series of correspondence with American anthropologist at the University of Philippines, H. Otley Beyer¹⁰¹. The collection also comprised newspaper clippings, magazine articles and memos from the American colonial government. The collection provides an original and an alternative material for the racialisation policies in the Philippines and also clarifies the nature of anthropological activities in the islands under Beyer's leadership which marked the beginning of Filipinization of anthropology and the gradual dissolution of American rule prior to the Second World War¹⁰². Other forms of primary sources also included maps, such as the *Atlas de Filipinas* available at the University of the Philippines archive. These primary sources were produced by the Spanish and American colonial administrators in the Philippines, published in Washington or in Manila.

1.7.1.b 'Native Voice' in the Primary Sources

Another issue concerns the availability of primary 'native' sources. As the historical narrative in this thesis is drawn upon the interactions made between various institutions and individuals during the American occupation, I deem it critical to include the 'native voice', a textual representation of Filipinos by Filipinos on its history, ethnology and governance. However, what is 'native' and 'indigenous', due to the centuries of racial demarcation

¹⁰¹ Powell's profile from 'Papers of Ifor Powell', JISC Archives Hub, URL: <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/340bfd94-0ee4-368d-a50f-6f42949201bc>, accessed 4th December 2018. References to Powell's activities also mentioned in H. Otley Beyer to Ifor B. Powell, 20th July 1935. PP.MS 26/1/2. Files 1-4. Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

¹⁰² Elaboration on Beyer's position at the University of Philippines and his contributions in Chapter 4.

by Spanish and American colonial administrators, becomes unclear and tricky to define. The inclusivity of the 'native voice' forms a spatial lacuna, an overlooked and often passive participant in the racial narrative. There are limited but significant works by Filipinos during the colonial period, but these works remain disputable as a legitimate representation of all Filipinos. Questions with regards to the appearance of the natives' primary sources are: who were considered 'natives'? How had their textual 'voices' manifested in government documents, racialised policies and ethnological studies?

The question of 'native voice' is imbued in the examination of colonial designations on the colonised population and what these designation entails. Specifically, 'native voice' is salvaged from what can be found in primary sources, but also what have been silenced and side-lined from making explicit appearances in these sources. The discussion on the availability of 'native' primary sources, therefore, relates to the fundamental concern proposed by Ann Laura Stoler in 'Tense and Tender Ties', that there are human dimensions to colonial encounters, and from these encounters the issues of how racial boundaries were drawn can be inferred¹⁰³. The dichotomisation of the population from the Spanish era had created two very distinct groups- the Christians and non-Christians. To denote 'native' as encompassing these two divisions is a simplistic attempt at coherency. The non-Christians were the highlight of ethnological research in the American-Philippines. On the other hand, the Christians' presence in the primary sources are observable from their clear participation in the Filipino-American war, and later, in the civil government¹⁰⁴. Additionally, the Christians also lead social and political reforms that culminated in the independence of the Philippine Republic in 1946.

These designations of what each category of 'native-ness' brings to the assessment of primary sources is a consideration on the unseen and silenced in the archives. According to Stoler, contents of the archives are products of colonial authorities' considerations and the process of inclusions. What eventually is stored and catalogued were considered legitimate colonial

¹⁰³ In *Haunted by Empire*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006): 23-67, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁴ Baybado, 'Beyond Colonization', p.47.

knowledge. Within the archives, and from the process of inclusion in the creation of 'colonial knowledge' there is a 'spill over' effect from which excluded elements surfaces¹⁰⁵. The conventions of colonial scholarship is to look at the data that are presented in the archives and analyse what these data inform us of the colonial authorities and their relationships with the people they colonised. In the search for the textual representations to ascertain who were the natives there is a tendency to overlook at the absence of those who were not represented or underrepresented in the archives¹⁰⁶. Notably, 'absence' does not necessarily mean 'unavailable', but in the selection of primary sources in my study, 'absence' here can also be understood as the discrepancies of representations in the physical and online archives. The sources that are available to inform me the conditions of the Christian from the non-Christian population are at best, unbalanced in quantity and quality of materials. Particularly, the textual 'voices' of the non-Christians can be 'heard' through the Americans and Hispanic Filipinos, yet it is regrettable that little can be done to authenticate the non-Christians colonial experience, other than triangulating from other, equally 'filtered' sources.

Thus, I identify the 'native voice' in the primary sources by acknowledging that the 'natives' designate both divisions of the population. This designation, however, does not resolve the asymmetrical representation in historical texts. If this thesis is read with the non-Christians as constituting the most legitimate representation of 'native-ness' or 'indigenusness', it can safely be concluded that there exists no 'native voice' in the historical sources¹⁰⁷. The lack of textual representation from the non-Christians becomes part of the argument on discrepant positions of racial groups in the Philippines—that racialisation and territorialisation had made it impossible to acquire indiscriminate Filipino sources. What is defined as a native primary source in this study, in consequence, recognises that both divisions form it in different

¹⁰⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 17-19.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 states the criteria of 'indigenous people' as possessing distinctive cultural traits and historically differentiated from the majority of the Philippines. From Schippers, 'Securing Land Rights', p.223.

ways; specifically, the Christians as government officials and lawmakers, and the non-Christians as ethnological subjects.

As the sources were being gathered, they were simultaneously evaluated. Among the weighted criteria for the primary sources is the provenance of the source, the authority of the source and the context of its publication¹⁰⁸. Primary and secondary sources were then used to organise and present a complete historical narrative which focuses first on the imperial network, then on the colonial institutions in the Philippines. The formulation of racial taxonomy and other racially motivated categorisations of the population was based on interactions and the symbiotic relationships between various imperial actors, and consequently the American colonial institutions in the Philippines.

1.7.2 Multiple Narratives and the Ecological Framework

The last step in my historical analyses is to bind the multiple narratives found from various imperial and institutional interactions. The aim is to present a coherent finding on the history of racial classification in the Philippines based on these interactions. I use the ecology of knowledge as the analytical lens from which these interactions can be explained. The convergence of multiple narratives is inspired by Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer's seminal article¹⁰⁹.

According to Star and Griesemer, scientific knowledge is a product of negotiations and validation from a various group of actors that are all guided by different, but overlapping motives. Based on the history behind the creation of the Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, Star and Griesemer identified several categories of actors—scientists, philanthropists, field-workers and administrators. These actors' interactions are mediated and motivated by a *boundary object*, a processual and

¹⁰⁸ Howell and Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources*, pp.62-66; Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p.3 and p.22; Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p.92.

¹⁰⁹ 'Institutional Ecology, 'Translations', and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-1939', *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 19, no. 3, (1989): 387-420.

connecting concept, which through its flexibility, directs the negotiation between actors. While their knowledge and contribution to science differ, each category of actors appreciates and may come to utilise the boundary object. In Star and Griesemer's study, scientific exhibits for the museum are the boundary object. Ultimately, the boundary object is subjected to various interpretations and is presented as a consolidating concept into which the multifariousness of motives converged and methods are standardised¹¹⁰.

In my work, the ecology of knowledge and the positioning of 'race' and 'racial classification' as a boundary object is applied loosely. I refrain from explicitly referring to 'racial taxonomy' as a boundary object due to the fluidity with which 'race' and 'racial taxonomy' appears in this thesis¹¹¹. The use of the ecological framework to consolidate the various forms of interactions between actors helps organise the multiple narratives systematically. The science of race, and in particular anthropology during the colonial period were frequently altered by the numerous, and at times, conflicted priorities and approaches of colonial administrators, scientists and historian, making it almost impossible to reach a consensus on racial taxonomy¹¹². My rationale for employing the ecological framework is simplified by Atsushi Akera: '*ecological metaphor is used only as a general reference to the complexity, contingency, and indeterminacy associated with the process of knowledge production*'¹¹³. In other words, by discussing

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Susan Leigh Star, in a paper published posthumously, 'This is Not a Boundary Object: Reflections of the Origin of a Concept', *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, vol. 35, no. 5, (2010): 601-617, p.602, clarified that a boundary object must have 'interpretative flexibility', while seeming to appear the same to all actors. Therefore, boundary object, while are similar from across the board, does not entail similar interpretation. One example of boundary object suggested by Star is a road map that can both be a guide to campers, or provide geological information to scientists. Since I am discussing both race and 'racial classification' with considerable fluidity, a commitment to present them as boundary objects does not fit with this particular criterion.

¹¹² Ibid, p.392.

¹¹³ In 'Constructing a Representation for an Ecology of Knowledge: Methodological Advances in the Integration of Knowledge and its Various Contexts', *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 37, no.3, (2007): 413-441, p.416.

the interactions between actors through the ecological framework, I can trace the political collaborations, intersections of knowledge and incompatibilities between imperial and institutional actors.

I harboured some concerns at trying to tie the diverse array of actors in a single narrative. This is because some actors may be more prominently represented in the narrative. In this scenario, the issue of just how an actors' influence contributes to the racial taxonomy brings about another reason for the application of the ecological framework in the study. According to Linda Andersson Burnett, the unparalleled power dynamic is unavoidable in analyses of interactions between multifarious actors in history. It is inevitable that based on textual and other form of historical evidences, some actors appear more influential than others. The ecological framework does not guarantee an equilibrium of representation, but reveals interactions, and how each actor is interdependently connected¹¹⁴. It is crucial to emphasise here that the ecological framework does not shape the overall analysis. This study is a historical narrative. Ecology of knowledge appears at this juncture and the many that will follow, as an analytical tool, a model from which various interactions can be focused on, in place of a linear and thematically arranged narrative.

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters. The first two chapters illuminate the context and resources used in the study. *Chapter 2 Analytical Tools and Review of Literature* introduces critical concepts in the formation of race and racial classification in the Philippines and a review of essential literature to put the contribution of this thesis into context. This is followed by three chapters that constitute the primary analyses. In *Chapter 3 Race, Anthropology and Imperialism in the Philippines*, the imperial network is argued to be central to the creation of a framework that links ideas and methods employed in the studies of race and ethnicity in the Philippines. Then, *Chapter 4 Agents of Racial Classification: The Bureau of non-Christian Tribes and the Civil Government, 1898-1946* focuses on the American institutions in the Philippines that were agents of structuralisation and

¹¹⁴ Linda Andersson Burnett, 'An Eighteenth-Century Ecology of Knowledge', *Culture Unbound*, vol. 6, (2014): 1275-1297, pp.1294-1295.

perpetuation of racial categorisations. *Chapter 5 The Philippine Censuses: From Scientific Taxonomy to 'Native Voice'* is on the three censuses of the Philippines that were conducted by the United States, and how racial categories appeared and evolved throughout the occupation. Finally, *Chapter 6 Conclusion* summarises the main contributions of this thesis, and discusses current issues on race and race relations in the Philippines.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYTICAL TOOLS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

'In no area were scientists of this period [late nineteenth to early twentieth-century] more unified, and thus more influential, than in the area of race theory' argues Carol M. Taylor¹. Taylor was referring to the institutional, social and political support for the sciences of race during the era, particularly in the United States. Scientific revolution and the imperial exploits of Western nations had consolidated biologists, eugenicists, anthropologists and medical doctors to a common understanding surrounding the measurability and observability of race. The unity implied by Taylor is doubtful when race as a scientific concept in a particular locality is scrutinised. In the Philippines, especially during the American occupation, anthropology stood as the central discipline to observe racial groups and build a taxonomy. Two concepts prevailed as the impetus for racial classifications and overall conception of 'race' as a scientific concept during the American occupation of the Philippines: Anglo-Saxon supremacy and Darwinism. These concepts are explanatory factors as to why conceptions and classifications of race proliferated in the way they did during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Philippines.

This chapter situates the main research question of this thesis within a series of scholarship that deals with the history and the science of race in the Philippines. The Philippines has become a focus of studies on race and colonialism since the late 20th century. It is important to note in the following discussion why looking at racial classification in the Philippines is still critical to the history of Southeast Asia and why an imperial network brings the question into an unchartered, or semi-chartered territory. In this literature review, I will first describe the historical development of the concept of race and an alternative approach to this history, specifically by amalgamating different narratives from anthropology, colonialism and racialism through an ecological framework. Subsequently, I will look into anthropology and race in the United States. I will then introduce the primary sources used in the study, with an emphasis on their respective contributions to the discussions.

¹ Carol M. Taylor, 'W.E.B. DuBois's Challenge to Scientific Racism', *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, (1981): 449-460, p.451.

2.2 Approaching Race as a Scientific Concept

The science of race was a product of its time. Prior to the nineteenth-century, the acceptance of racial differences was mostly bound to theology². During the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, race was defined and conceptualised as an ontology that could be studied scientifically. At about the same time, European colonialism was at its zenith, and were in control of over one-third of the globe³. The relationship between colonialism and race rested on many different notions of the concept of race and its manifestations, such as racism and policies that were construed on racial ideals. The trail of arguments ranges from the origin of the human race (polygenism and monogenism), or the origin of the white race (Anglo-Saxonism, Aryanism and Nordicism) to evolutionism, racism, racial hierarchy and racial classification. After the Second World War, racial differences were neutralised to connote divergence from previous notions or were disregarded as entirely irrelevant⁴. The literature on race reveals the struggle scientists, anthropologists and philosophers had with the definition of race⁵. The utmost

² Michael Adas, *Machines as Measures of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 5-15; Terence D. Keel, 'Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 26, no. 2, (2013): 3-32, pp. 5-8.

³ Crispin Bates, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: The Early Origins of Indian Anthropometry', *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, no. 3, (1995), pp.1-6; Manickam, 'Situated Thinking or How the Science of Race was Socialised in British Malaya', *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 47, no. 3, (2012): 283-307, p.288 and *Taming the Wild: Aborigines and Racial Knowledge in Colonial Malaya* (Nias Press: Copenhagen, 2015), pp.13-14; George W. Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 238-240.

⁴ Jenny Bangham, 'What is Race? UNESCO, Mass Communication and Human Genetics in the early 1950s', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 28, no.5 (1995): 80-107; Michael Yudell, *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 105-110; Robert Wald Sussman, *The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp.206-208; Taylor, 'W.E.B. DuBois's Challenge', pp. 456-457.

⁵ Peter Wade, *Race, Nature and Culture* (London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 2002), pp. 1-2.

struggle was how to determine a universal racial taxonomy. Early twentieth-century anthropologists' definition of race for example can be generalised from a passage taken from Ruth Benedict's *Race: Science and Politics* (1940):

to recognize Race does not mean to recognize Racism. Race is a matter of careful scientific study; Racism is an unproved assumption of the biological and perpetual superiority of one group over another.⁶

Three years later, in *Race and Racism*, Benedict explained *what race is not*; it is not language, nor is it culture, but what it is is a strictly biological concept observable in the physical characteristics of a person⁷. Her views were taken almost exclusively from her mentor, Franz Boas (1858-1942), who was critical of the over-emphasis placed on craniometry and evolutionism to determine race and racial hierarchy⁸.

Mainly, *race* is a concept often associated with biological sciences, while *racism*, the acknowledgement of racial differences which takes the form of discrimination, segregation and genocide, was often referred to as a *reaction* to, rather than the definition of race⁹. Ann Laura Stoler argues that the need to organise and establish control over people and resources permeated colonial policies, and the creation of racial classification is an embodiment of this need to control¹⁰. Racial categorisation, or racialisation, therefore, is part of the

⁶ As cited in Yudell, *Race Unmasked*, p.105.

⁷ Ruth Benedict, *Race and Racism* (London: The Scientific Book Club, 1943), pp.6-13, and p.16.

⁸ Franz Boas, *Race, Language, Culture* (New York: The Free Press, 1940), pp. 149-150. Also see Mark Anderson, 'Ruth Benedict, Boasian Anthropology, and the Problem of the Colour Line', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 25, no. 3, (2014): 395-414; Michael Verdon, 'The World Upside Down: Boas, History, Evolutionism and Science', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 17, no.3, (2006): 171-187.

⁹ For extensive definition of 'race' and 'racism', see *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture*, edited by Guido Bolaffi, Raffaele Bracalenti, Peter Braham and Sandro Gindro, (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 239-240, p. 275, and Wade, *Race, Nature and Culture*, pp. 1-15.

¹⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 36-37; also with Frederick Cooper in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California

discourse on racism. In the historiography of colonialism, race and racism are often discussed interchangeably as interrelated and binding concepts.

The general study of race during the colonial era has been treated as a historically evolving subject-matter, and inherently scientific. Race was often considered to be an ontology which explained the fundamental difference between constructed categories of human beings¹¹. The two most common themes in the consolidation of race as a scientific concept from the colonial-intellectual paradigm based on a study of literature on race and colonialism, most notably in the Philippines, are the Anglo-Saxon racial hegemony and the emergence of Darwinism¹².

Press, 1997):1-16 pp. 1-2. On manifestation of power, see Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 8, no. 4, (1982): 777-795.

¹¹ The ontology of race here is defined as 'ascribed beings, or essence of things', following Ann Laura Stoler in *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p.4. Stoler was referring to colonial ontology, which in my interpretation means an ontology which exist within, in support of, and thrives on colonialism. Also see Stoler in 'Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth' in *Race Critical Theories*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002): 369-391.

¹² The literatures on race, Darwinism and Anglo-Saxonism during the nineteenth to twentieth century will be discussed more extensively in this chapter, under sections 2.3.1: 'Child of Imperialism': History of Anthropology and Colonialism; 2.3.2: American Anthropology and Scientific Study of Race; and for the Philippines, see 2.4: The American Occupation of the Philippines: A Historiographical Analyses.

2.2.1. Common History and Binding Ideology: The Anglo-Saxon Hegemony

According to Jon Røyne Kyllingstad and Richard MacMahon, the conceptualisation of 'race' as a scientific concept is rooted in the concept of the Anglo-Saxon race¹³. 'Anglo-Saxonism' is tied to a theoretical foundation which, over time, reflected the scientific partialities of the nineteenth to early twentieth-century, and inevitably, colonialism¹⁴. Referred to by several synonyms—Germanic race, Nordic race, Master Race, the Aryans—Anglo-Saxon was not only a semantic expression used to denote superiority of a particular racial group. 'Anglo-Saxonism' had created a sense of affinity among Northern Europeans through a shared lineage. It fostered sentiments of belonging, of common destiny vis-à-vis intense political-economic competitiveness between European states, and later, the United States¹⁵. This thesis highlights the role of Anglo-Saxonism on two levels: first, how Anglo-Saxonism brought together competing imperial actors together in recognition of a single, superior race above all other racial groups through a network of ideas; and secondly, how Anglo-Saxon sentiments saturated American policies on the Filipinos from American racial supremacy over the perceived inferiority of the colonised subjects.

According to Michael Adas, the history of modern Europe was formed on the premise of European, and particularly Northern/Western European triumphs

¹³ Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, *Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway, 1890-1945* (United Kingdom: Open Book Publishers, 2014), pp.3-5; Richard MacMahon, 'Anthropological Race Psychology 1820-1945: A Common European System of Ethnic Identity Narratives', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 15, no.4 (2009): 575-596.

¹⁴ In Reginald Horsman, 'Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 37, no.3 (1976), pp.395-398 and Chris Jones, 'Anglo-Saxonism in Nineteenth-Century Poetry', *Literature Compass*, vol. 7, no. 5, (2010): 358-361.

¹⁵ Discussed extensively by Paul A. Kramer in 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between British and US Empires, 1880-1910,' in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): 43-91.

over medieval conservatisms and backwardness¹⁶. By the nineteenth-century, colonial expansion and industrialisation dramatically improved the conditions of European nations. The scenario in Europe is in contrast with the circumstances in Asia. According to Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Andaya, Southeast Asia from the fifteenth century was vulnerable to European encroachments due to the absence of a centralised power and royal disputes¹⁷. This is the opposite to, as J.M. Roberts points out, the 'new wealth' of the Europeans and their brave endeavour into scientific studies. The exchange of scientific culture became transoceanic, expanding beyond Europe¹⁸. Science and industry worked hand-in-hand to produce what Adas argues as the marker of 'fundamental differences which set their societies off from all others.'¹⁹ Adas further claims that these 'differences' were translated as an affirmation of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and eventually, complemented the energy for science at the time, and led to the conceptualisation of Anglo-Saxonism within scientific discourse²⁰.

Naturalists and anatomist such as Carolus Linnaeus, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach reified racial taxonomies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The structure of racial hierarchy was revised, addressed through different scientific explanations and debated. One of the most common disagreements in the concept and ideological reification was the categorisation itself. Up until the nineteenth-century, scientists debated the existence of four, five or only three categorisations of humans into racial types²¹. These disputes did little to imply that the entire theoretical foundation of racial hierarchy was infallible, or cast doubt on the purity of the

¹⁶ See Adas, *Machines as Measures of Men*, pp. 1-10.

¹⁷ Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Early Modern Southeast Asia, 1400-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.143-239.

¹⁸ J.M. Roberts, *The Penguin History of Europe* (London: Penguin Group, 1996), pp.380-389.

¹⁹ Adas, *Machines as Measures of Men*, p.134.

²⁰ Ibid, p.150.

²¹ Horsman, 'Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism', pp.396- 398.

Anglo-Saxon race²². The saliency of the entire enterprise was the consistency in which an Anglo-Saxon race was placed on the top of a racial hierarchy.

During the exploration and expansion of the American frontiers, colonialists and settlers from Europe utilised 'Anglo-Saxonism' with as much vigour and passion as many European states at that time. The utilisation of the term was appealing to the early settlers—English, German and Dutch—in America from the sixteenth century. The appeal of 'Anglo-Saxonism' and the construction of race as a scientific concept in American intellectual culture was widely attributed to Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881)²³. Morgan was a lawyer who was involved in a land settlement between the federal government and the Iroquois Indians in the state of New York. He later proceeded to study the Iroquois in 1847, providing materials not only for the study of Native Americans but also for the study of anthropology²⁴. In June 1870, Morgan took his family for a holiday in Europe, where he met with Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Edward B. Tylor (1832-1917)²⁵. His later works, including *Ancient Society*, was strongly influenced by Darwin and Tylor. Morgan's work is exemplary of how nineteenth-century ethnological studies held to the view that the Anglo-Saxon's place at the top of the racial hierarchy provided a vantage point from which observations of primitive societies could be made²⁶.

The Anglo-Saxon affiliation between imperial actors did not pacify rivalry between them. Instead, from the nineteenth to twentieth-century, 'Anglo-Saxonism' had created an atmosphere of competition and cooperation between imperial powers. Alistair Bonnett argues that the idea of the West, which was built primarily on the Anglo-Saxon sentiment, embodies both a unifying entity and a patchwork of individual nations each characterised by

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, p.388; Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: History of an Idea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984), pp.40-69, Marc Swetlitz, 'The Minds of Beavers and the Minds of Humans', from George W. Stocking Jr., *Bones, Bodies and Behaviour* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1988): 56-83, pp.56-60.

²⁴ Swetlitz 'The Minds of Beavers', p.61.

²⁵ Ibid, 73.

²⁶ R. Jon McGee & Richard L. Warms, *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012), pp.45-57; also see Swetlitz, 'The Minds of Beavers', p. 60.

distinct historical experiences. Nonetheless, the Western achievement in science and philosophy during the Enlightenment had reinforced the notion of Anglo-Saxon supremacy during the nineteenth and twentieth-century²⁷. Subsequently, the embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon identity and what it entails helps colonial administrators and anthropologists, particularly those that wanted to form a taxonomy delineating the colonialists from the colonised subjects. The Anglo-Saxon sentiment were especially potent in influencing American administration of the Philippines; the policies of the United States in the islands were concerned with establishing a clear demarcation between different 'racial' categories of the population in relation to the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, white American administrators.

2.2.2 The Appeal of Darwinism

Evolutionism was present in scientific discussions of race even before the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859)²⁸. However, it was Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913) who at the time was working in the East Indies, that provided a challenge to the fixity of species. The idea that race was an evolving and ever-adapting concept became dominant throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a scientific theory supporting racial differences and racial classification²⁹. Darwinism was appealing to scientists, philosophers and colonial powers because it proposed a 'universal' approach to explain diversity of racial characteristics of the human race,

²⁷ Alastair Bonnett, 'Whiteness and the West' in Claire Dwyer and Caroline Bressey (eds.), *New Geographies of Race and Racism* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008): 17-28, pp.23-24. See also Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, p.67; Horsman, 'Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism', p.395.

²⁸ Bowler, *Evolution*, p.20.

²⁹ Richard McMahon, 'Networks, Narratives and Territory in Anthropological Race Classifications: Towards a More Comprehensive Historical Geography of Europe's Culture', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 154, no.4, (2011): 575-596; Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (London: The Bodley Head, 2016), pp.209-210; Ulrich Kutschera and Uwe Hossfeld, 'Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913): the forgotten co-founder of the Neo-Darwinian theory of biological evolution', *Theory of Biosciences*, vol. 132 (2013): 207- 214.

bringing about an interdependent network of scholarships from across the Western world.

Evolution provided scientists with few key concepts that were used to explain racial differences. One example was on the origin of the human race that were torn between the *polygenists* and the *monogenists*. The polygenists, such as Josiah C. Nott (1804-1873) were adamant that different races originated from different ancestors, but monogenists, who were mostly adherence of Darwinism by the end of the nineteenth-century, believed that there was a single source of lineage that gradually evolved into different racial groups, and these differences were ascribed to the species' adjustment to the environment³⁰. Other semantic and conceptual contribution to racial science can be found in the paragraph taken from the concluding chapter of *Origin of Species*:

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes...and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; *Inheritance* which is almost implied by reproduction; *Variability* from the indirect and direct action of the conditions of life, and from use and disuse; a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a Struggle for Life, and as a consequence to *Natural Selection*, entailing *Divergence of Character* and the *Extinction of [less-improved] forms*³¹.

This paragraph highlights the notion of *inheritance*, *variability* and *natural selection*. These concepts add nuance to the inquiries into race. Natural

³⁰ Terence D. Keel, 'Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 26, no.2, (2013): 3-23; Bowler, *Evolution*, pp. 20-36.

³¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species* (London: William Collins, 1859/ 2011), p.564. The notion of the instability of racial characteristics and the dominance of superior race due to its successful metamorphoses and survival traits is seen implied in the italicised concepts excerpted of his summary on the evolution of animals and plants. Italics are from new edition of the book.

selection in particular, formed the fundamental notion on why certain race were considered more 'evolved' than others.

Darwinism also contributed to continuities between race and imperialism through the idea of *inheritance*: a species may evolve with traces of inherited traits of their ancestors passed down from generation to generation while adapting and adjusting to the changing environment. This notion formed the basis for what the belief in race and racial classification entailed during the nineteenth-century among Europeans—that there were groups of peoples that were inherently superior due to their capacity to adapt and adjust³². Darwin explains the consequence of evolution in the excerpt below:

It is also natural that the dominant, varying and far-spreading species, which have already invaded, to a certain extent, the territories of other species, should be those which would have the best chance of spreading still further, and of giving rise in new countries to other new varieties and species... but in the course of time the dominant forms would generally succeed in spreading and ultimately prevail³³.

The notion of superiority of selected species as proposed by Darwin, according to Michael Ruse, was that dominant species are very likely to 'invade' a new habitat and such domination was natural. This view of species dominance and the naturalising of species subjugation was not only a scientific understanding during the nineteenth-century, but transcended into a socio-political paradigm of social Darwinism³⁴.

Following the publication of the *Origin of Species*, biologists, naturalists, anthropologists and historians debated the genesis of the theory by invoking

³² A history of the idea is elaborated by Reginald Horsman in *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England, 1981), pp.44-45; the mind of the 'primitive man' elucidated by George W. Stocking Jr. in 'The Dark-Skinned Savage: The Image of Primitive Man in Evolutionary Anthropology', in *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1982): 110-132, pp. 117-118.

³³ Ibid, pp. 393-394.

³⁴ Michael Ruse, *Charles Darwin* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp.30-35.

Linnaeus, Lamarck, Wallace and Herbert Spencer³⁵. What made the evolutionary theory proposed by Darwin successful was the systematic framework he provided which enabled readers and critiques to understand the steps he took to come to his conclusions. Rather than merely putting forth statements on the possibility of evolution, Darwin explained the process³⁶. The semantics of domination and territorial expansion espoused by Darwin were interpreted in the light of the contemporary spirit of colonialism. In anthropology, racial groups were categorised in the sequence implied in Darwinian texts.

The Victorian era saw many changes in British society. The expanse and wealth of the British empire, paired with the industrialisation of many English cities seem to uphold the grandiosity and superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and concomitantly, gave recognition to Social Darwinism³⁷. In *The Archaeology of Race*, Debbie Challis narrates the life of Francis Galton (1822-1911), who advocated for the notion that there was a biologically inherent hierarchy between different racial human groups, and that these differences manifested culturally³⁸. In *Hereditary Genius* (1869), Galton strongly argued for the distinction between individuals as being the product of biological inheritance and not the environment. In another work, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (1883), Galton also expressed that any trait in a parent can be passed down to the offspring, consequently maintaining distinct characteristics that places the individual into a group with these overlying characteristics³⁹. Galton overlaps with Darwin in these two instances. First, biological criteria form the essential characteristic of an individual, and secondly, these criteria are hereditary. There was one vital incongruity: while

³⁵ Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, p.145.

³⁶ Thomas F. Glick, 'The Anthropology of Race Across the Darwinian Revolution', in *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by Henrika Kucklick (Massachusetts, Oxford and Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), p.225.

³⁷ Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p.234.

³⁸ Debbie Challis, *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie* (London, New Delhi, New York and Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp.52-53. Also elaborated by Ivan Hannaford in *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington: The Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1996), pp.290-291.

³⁹ Challis, op. cit.

Galton did not believe in the ability of the environment to reform the biological traits inherited from the parents of the individual, Darwin was convinced that nurture could alter nature⁴⁰.

Social Darwinism was only an analogous application of the concepts introduced in the *Origin of Species*, and not a direct understanding taken from another of Darwin's work, the *Descent of Man* (1871). Debates on race during the nineteenth-century were premised mainly on the questions of, do groups of people adapt and evolve, and if so, how? The performative potential of racial classification relied on the fundamental ideas of Anglo-Saxonism and Darwinism. As imperial powers proceed to expand territories, pre-existing sentiments of racial superiority that had been used to justify colonial policies inevitably saturated the scientific discourse of race of colonised people. The racial classification and stratification of the population in the Philippines was constructed, explicitly from or in subtle references to the Anglo-Saxon sentiments and scientific conceptualisation of race based on Darwinism. My analyses of the American colonial institutions in the Philippines will explore the various ways how these two concepts emerged and influenced the categorisation of the Filipinos, notably the differences between the Christians and non-Christians, and how it binds nations and institutions together within an ecological framework.

2.3 Anthropology, Colonialism and Race in the United States

2.3.1 'Child of imperialism': History of Anthropology and Colonialism

The history of anthropology is interconnected with colonialism. The emergence of anthropology as part of colonial history testifies to the intensification of race as a legitimate subject matter for the new discipline. While studies on race had benefited substantially from other disciplines, most notably eugenics and biology, it was anthropology that helped to construe race as a scientific concept in most colonised countries. Several works on the history of anthropology look into the origins of anthropology, and why it had often been associated with colonialism.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Frederick Cooper and Stoler claim that within colonial discourse there existed a linear relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, but beyond that, there existed a web of perceptions from various actors constituting knowledge and power dynamics⁴¹. Anthropology was mostly field-based; research conducted in a prime setting that had allowed interactions between researcher, here referring to a representative of the imperial power, and the ethnological subjects, who were in many cases colonial subjects. The environment surrounding the colonial subject, therefore, provided a focal point of confounding relationships between various participants. This is what justifies the claim by George W. Stocking Jr. (1928-2013) that anthropology was the 'child of imperialism'⁴². In another work Stoler claims that anthropology was in fact, a category-making project' flamed by the 'racial anxiety' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Segregation and classification were all efforts made to pacify any potential threats to the perceived purity of the culture of the colonisers⁴³.

The historiography of anthropology shows that there were many debates on the theories of and methods to study race. In a 1968 article, Stocking delineated the development of perceptions of the colonised subjects, or 'the

⁴¹ In their introductory chapter of *Tensions of Empire*, pp. 1-58. Also see Peter Pels, 'The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History, and the Emergence of Western Governmentality', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 26, (1997): 163-183; Grant Evans, 'Indigenous and Indigenized Anthropology in Asia': 43-55, p.pp.50-54 and Syed Farid Alatas, 'Indigenization: Features and Problems': 227-244, pp.232-235, both from *Asian Anthropology*, edited by Jan van Bremen, Eyal Ben-Ari and Syed Farid Alatas (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁴² George W. Stocking Jr., *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualisation of Ethnographic Knowledge, History of Anthropology, Volume 7* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1991), p.3. Also discussed by Talal Asad in the same volume, 'From History of Colonial Anthropology to the Anthropology of Western Hegemony', pp.314-324. This argument can also be taken from Talal Asad's introduction in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973): 9-20.

⁴³ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), p.144 and p.207.

savage'⁴⁴. The remarkable revelation from this article is the potency of evolutionism in constructing the theoretical foundations of anthropology on racial differences. Additionally, the article argues that concepts such as racial hierarchy were also borrowed from Darwin in articulating the evolutionary journey of an organism. In another work, Stocking re-emphasised the dependency between race and colonialism, and its appearance in anthropology, by exploring the social and political circumstances which had initially allowed racial concepts and evolutionism to make an appearance in the scientific and public circles. In *Victorian Anthropology*, Stocking explained that evolutionary theory's appeal was partly due to its ability to harmonise the teleological journey of the human spirit with a biological trajectory that Galton claimed to be the reason for the existence of 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' groups of peoples⁴⁵. The notion of savagery and uncivilised peoples were integral to the growth of anthropology, as it is parallel to the understanding that there is a demarcation between the researcher and the subject. As twentieth-century liberalism emerged, this linear fashion of viewing human progress was regarded as outdated and was eventually replaced with a revised understanding of civilisation.

These arguments on race and colonialism by Stocking resonates in contemporary scholarship on the history of anthropology. In the introduction to *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, Talal Asad observes how anthropological theories benefited from the access and 'safe passage' to remote territories permitted through imperial encounters⁴⁶. In this critical volume on the theoretical and methodological history of anthropology, there appear various discrepancies and complexities which existed in the relationship between the colonial administration, anthropologists and the native inhabitants. Similarly, Wendy James demonstrates that the liaison between colonial administrators and anthropologists was more of an uneasy compromise than a collaboration⁴⁷. Her claim comes from her own study of the

⁴⁴ In 'The Dark-Skinned Savage: The Image of Primitive Man in Evolutionary Anthropology': 110-132.

⁴⁵ Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, pp. 51-70.

⁴⁶ Asad, 'Introduction', *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, p.3.

⁴⁷ 'The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist', in Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. 41-70.

criticisms against social anthropological works in colonial Africa. The choice of subject matter and the approach opted to study primitive societies may not entirely explain the relationship between colonialism and anthropology, but it remains a valid standpoint that anthropology benefited from a colonial setting.

The complexity of the colonialism-anthropology relationship relies on the peculiarities of a given colonial space. Several literatures on anthropology in Southeast Asia, particularly Malaya illuminates the complexity of this relationship. In 'Common Ground: Race and the Colonial Universe in British Malaya', Sandra Khor Manickam scrutinises both the arguments made by the coloniser and the colonised to extract key ideas which influenced the formation of racial categories in Malaya during the British occupation⁴⁸. According to Manickam, the creation of racial categories in Malaya were not an independent construct of the British. The colonisers cannot be viewed as the sole instigator and perpetuator of racial divisions. The scientific schematisation of racial groups were most certainly dominated by the British but were supplemented by the racial discourse of the native intellectuals that were centred on establishing the social and historical roots of racial identities in Malaya⁴⁹. Manickam argues in another study that the intertwining roles of colonial policy-makers and anthropological knowledge was part of the effort to categorise and study the indigenous peoples of Malaya. The relationship between the Malay intellectuals complemented British research on the population of Malaya, and the interactions between various ideas on race that circulated the region during the period aided colonial efforts in constructing racial categories⁵⁰. The categorisation of the population in the Philippines, as I will discuss further in this chapter, were constructed with dissimilar native engagement- while the Malays in Malaya were considered 'native', the position of the intellectuals in the Philippines were more questionable, given their Hispanic roots and lineage. In my study, the arguments on how colonialism permeated anthropological studies had to take into account the

⁴⁸ Article published in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, (2009): 593-612.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 603-604.

⁵⁰ *Taming the Wild: Aborigines and Racial Knowledge in Colonial Malaya* (Copenhagen: Niass Press, 2015), pp.73-77; See also by Manickam, 'Situated Thinking', p. 298.

question of 'nativeness' posed by the division between the Christians and non-Christians⁵¹.

What is unmistakable is that racial categorisation of a colonised population mirrors, albeit to a varying degree in different colonial spaces, the colonial consciousness. Manickam demonstrates in another study, colonial administration's contribution to the categorisation of the population, like the census of Malaya, for instance, was formed not only by anthropological classifications, but by 'the influence of government outlooks'⁵². Similarly, Fenneke Sysling argues that racialisation is linked to colonial perceptions, and that somehow always meant that anthropology in a colonial setting was construed on race and colonial actions were aimed to demarcate the population, theoretically or physically⁵³. The Dutch anthropologists in Bali and Lombok demonstrated similar tendencies to organise and schematise the population, and Sysling observes that these efforts were mainly based on existing ideas on racial differences⁵⁴. What can be deduced from these literatures is how the synergy between colonialism and anthropology had created channels to mediate the flow of scientific ideas and practices between imperial entities and colonial territories.

The relationship between anthropology and colonialism can be understood as constant, but evolving. In the introductory chapter to their edited volume, *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*⁵⁵, Peter

⁵¹ The questionability of 'native' Christians and the historical sources produced by this group is also discussed in Chapter 2, section 1.7.

⁵² Sandra Manickam, 'Bridging the Race Barrier: Between "Sakai" and "Malay" in the Census Categorisations of British Malaya', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, (2014): 367-384.

⁵³ In 'Mixed Messages: Racial Science and Local Identity in Bali and Lombok, 1938-39', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3, (2018): 410-425, p. 416. For more discussions on colonial perception and colonial consciousness, see Charles Hirschman, 'The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, (1987), pp. 565-567.

⁵⁴ Sysling, 'Mixed Messages', pp. 416-417.

⁵⁵ Chapter entitled 'Introduction: Locating the Colonial Subjects', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, (Ann Arbor: The

Pels and Oscar Salemink argue that the nineteenth-century was an era of 'applied' anthropology, defined so because anthropological research was used to assist policymakers in colonised countries. The main focus of anthropology at this stage was not to develop theory per se, but to utilise theories to provide explanation of colonised subjects. At the turn of the century, anthropology was practiced as an academic discipline, and consequently theoretical studies became more popular⁵⁶. In looking to develop theories, anthropologists devoted more time to reflect on the nature and methods employed by the discipline. The alteration of approach here, I infer, was partly attributed to the change of dynamic between colonial administration and the colonised subjects. As more countries attained independence, the accessibility which had previously been possible became restricted.

The complexity of the interdependency between colonialism and anthropology is subservient to the historical process of nationalism and post-colonialism. James summarises it eloquently in the passage below:

We must recognise that there were developing contradictions, not merely between the administrators and their philosophy of just rule on one hand, and nascent nationalism and socialism on the other, but between each of these and social anthropology, caught in the middle and constrained from either side⁵⁷.

University of Michigan Press, 2000): 2-52. Pels and Salemink, proposes related arguments in 'Introduction: Five Theses on Ethnography as Colonial Practice' *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no. 1-4, (1994): 1-34.

⁵⁶ For additional references on development of anthropology and anthropological theories relevant to this thesis, see John S. Haller Jr., 'Concepts of Race Inferiority in Nineteenth-Century Anthropology', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 25, no.1, (1970): 40-51; Sumit Guha, 'Lower Strata, Older Races, and Aboriginal Peoples: Racial Anthropology and Mythical History Past and Present', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 57, no.2, (1998): 423-441; Efram Sera-Shriar, 'What is Armchair Anthropology? Observational Practices in 19th-century British Human Sciences', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 27, no.2 (2013): 26-40.

⁵⁷ James, 'The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist', p.69.

2.3.2 American Anthropology and the Scientific Study of Race

The development of anthropology in the United States can succinctly be summarised as an effort to reconstruct national identity, to understand the emerging barriers in the expansion westwards and as justification for slave-based industries⁵⁸. Notwithstanding, it was a result of both an international network of ideas and regional interpretation of a new discipline. Thomas C. Patterson suggests that the pressure to create an American intellectual identity partly comes from the onslaught of European criticisms during the late eighteenth century directed against American intellectual culture or lack thereof⁵⁹. American anthropology benefited immensely from this struggle. The fascination for Native Americans that grew into a systematic study of language, culture and physiology brought national patronage and led to the establishment of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879⁶⁰. During the late nineteenth-century, American anthropology explored the possibility of categorising the human race based on scientific principles⁶¹.

The reformation of American anthropology during the early twentieth-century challenged the fixation on the racial categorisation of the earlier years. This was mainly credited to Boas. According to Stocking, Boas's influence can succinctly be 'described negatively, in terms of what he rejected'⁶². Similarly, Robert Wald Sussman wrote that Boas was 'ahead of his time' due to his radical views on race⁶³. Sussman argues that Boas was not against the biological assumption of race and that he did not believe race was measurable solely by physiological means. Boas brought America to a new age in

⁵⁸ Thomas C. Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001), p.7.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Regna Darnell, 'North American Traditions in Anthropology', in *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by Henrika Kucklick (Massachusetts, Oxford and Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2008): 35-51, pp.36-39.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.37. Further explanation on the Bureau of American Ethnology is in Chapter 4.

⁶² In *Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin University Press, 1985), p. 119.

⁶³ Sussman, *Myth of Race*, p. 199.

anthropology whereby culture transcended archaic methods of classification and the existence of racial hierarchy was questioned⁶⁴. Race was not removed from anthropology as a subject worthy of investigation, but American anthropology became what Regna Darnell terms as an 'Americanist' tradition⁶⁵. This argument adds to the uniqueness of the discipline in that its ideologies and methods were not necessarily developed within the boundaries of the United States⁶⁶.

Anthropology in the United States emerged as a necessity as the white American settlers wanted to learn more about, and more importantly neutralise Native American tribes. Anne Paulet draws out similarities between the American policies in the United States and the Philippines. According to Paulet, the efforts to control enmity and suppress chaos domestically extended to the Philippines, due to the same need to occupy and administer the Filipinos as the Americans did with the indigenous population back home⁶⁷. Part of the effort to perpetuate racial classification was to organise and identify similarities and differences between groups of peoples and approach them differently and accordingly, which is applicable to both the Native Americans in North America, and the Filipinos⁶⁸.

As had been illustrated by these literature, colonialism and anthropology creates a fertile ground for racial data to be extracted. The relationship

⁶⁴ Sussman, op. cit., pp. 198-205; Boas, *Race, Language, Culture*, pp.40-43.

⁶⁵ Regna Darnell, *'And Along Came Boas': Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publication, 1998), p. 1. On Boas, also see Sussman, *Myth of Race*, pp.160- 184.

⁶⁶ Another influential figure in American history who had shed some significant light into racial debates was W.E.B DuBois. In a series of editorials published in *The Crisis*, DuBois refuted Darwinist assumptions that had been an apparatus used by the whites to deter African American socio-economic progress and emancipation. While DuBois has made a significant contribution on the debates on race in America, I will retain the focus on contribution made by anthropologist for this particular topic; for an extensive discussion on DuBois, see Taylor, 'W.E.B. DuBois's Challenge': 449-460.

⁶⁷ Anne Paulet, 'To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines', *History of Education Quarterly*, vol.47, no. 2, (2007): 173-201.

⁶⁸ As I will highlight in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

between colonialism and anthropology sheds light into the nature of scientific study on race in colonised territories, though there is much to explore in the context of the Philippines. Fundamentally, the history of race and anthropology is central to the discussion in order to contextualise interactions in the imperial and institutional networks. Since race is not only a social construct in this thesis, but is also analysed as a scientific concept, the goal of this section is to make explicit statements on how colonial entities perceived race, and subsequently administered population that have been slotted into different racial categories in other parts of Southeast Asia. The intention here is to demonstrate how perception of objectivity and standardisation of scientific research by colonial powers ensured that race can, despite methodological, theoretical or political setbacks, be construed as an empirical matter. Among the questions that warrants repeated reflection with regards to anthropology during European and American imperialism of Asia are: to what extent were these studies regarded as scientific by the administration and the scientists undertaking the research? How did 'scientific' racial categories appeared in other parts of the administration? The following sections will look into studies on the American occupation of the Philippines, and primary documents by American administrators in the Philippines to tie previous arguments within specific contexts.

2.4 The American Occupation of the Philippines: A Historiographical Analyses

This section look specifically into racial classification in the Philippines during the American occupation. This, in turn, illustrates how primary and secondary sources points to the flow of the ecological interactions from an imperial network to a regional-specific institutional network. This trajectory of interactions corresponds to the organisation of the chapters from 3 to 5. I divide the historiographical analyses of the American occupation of the Philippines into four sections. The first subsection is on early ethnological literature on the Philippines. These are the primary sources for this thesis, and it depicts the trends of racial classification adopted by colonial powers. The second subsection is on the literature that contextualises the history of race in the United States, and how that is applied to the Philippines. The next subsection is on studies that focus on the categorisation and racialisation by the American administration in the region. Finally, I will analyse historical

writings by Filipino scholars on the American period, and how it evolved and added to the narrative of race and colonialism in the Philippines.

2.4.1 American Ethnology in the Philippines

The structure and trajectory of racial classification can be extracted from the reports and writings of colonial administrators. Most government reports contain policies and studies that manifest the ideas of race and racial hierarchy of the colonial authorities. Most significant of these government sources are the *Reports of the Philippine Commission* and the censuses. The American administration of racial groups in the Philippines was additionally aided by BNCT. Therefore, I also utilised several anthropological publications in order to further understand the evolution of racial taxonomy in the islands and more importantly, to draw out interactions between the various institutions of the American administration. These sources are focused on the period of the American occupation, but theoretically, as I argue in Chapter 3, there were interactions between imperial actors that had contributed to anthropological studies in the Philippines, and generally how ideas of race enforced disparate administration between groups in the population. Among these sources are maps compiled by the Jesuits and works by non-American scientists working in the region⁶⁹. I will now turn to describe chronologically, several key sources that were vital to my analyses.

The earliest writing used by the Americans in order to understand the Philippines was the *Atlas de Filipinas*, a collection of maps compiled during the 1890's by Spanish Jesuit priest, Jose Maria Algue⁷⁰. The *Atlas de Filipinas* was primarily a Spanish undertaking that had become the preferred material for the Americans. At the foundation of American empire-building in the Philippines, the *Atlas* served as a beneficial source in understanding racial classification for the different layers of Americans who were policy-makers or

⁶⁹ The various sources mentioned here are listed in the footnotes of Table 1-1 and table 1-2, which also demonstrates how these sources shaped my arguments on the changing forms of racial classifications and how ideas, in brief, transcended from one imperial actor to another.

⁷⁰ The full title being *Atlas de Filipinas: Coleccion de 30 mapas*, second edition published in Washington by the Government Printing Office in 1899. Obtained from the Special Collections, University of Philippines Diliman Library.

were merely interested in the region. The most significant feature of the *Atlas de Filipinas* is the map of racial groups in the islands⁷¹. According to the map, there were three main categories of the population: *Hispanic*, *Moros*, and *Cristianos nuevos y los Infieles*. This emphasis on religion as racial categories was readily adopted by the American administrators. The United States re-published the *Atlas* and utilised the racial map. The division between Christians and non-Christians was also adopted partly from the classification in Algue's map. This is one of the key sources for my analyses, most notably in the illustration of racial groups in the Philippines during the end of Spanish rule. Racialised policies implemented by the United States seem to reflect the racial distribution in the maps of the *Atlas de Filipinas*, including the establishment of the Special Provinces, as will be discussed.

In this study, I argue that the growing popularity of evolutionism, social Darwinism and Anglo-Saxonism engineered political and scientific enterprises in the Philippines. The following sources reflect the prevalence of the idea. David Barrows, chief of the BNCT from 1901 to 1903, published a booklet of instruction, *The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Philippines Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* was published in Manila⁷². Barrow's *Circular* is one of the most important sources of information on the nature of anthropological work in the Philippines. It contained several pages of instructions on the observations that had to be made by the volunteer field workers, who consisted mainly of amateur ethnologists, military personnel and teachers stationed around the country. The instructions were guidance for acquiring data on specific tribes that the volunteers were tasked to observe. The goal was to eventually accumulate all the data taken from every volunteer worker and re-organise it into a repository of ethnological observations of various non-Christian peoples in the islands. The *Circular* was also a government document. Published by the Bureau of Print for the BNCT, it signified the attempt by the civil government to formulate a mechanism to identify and classify the Filipinos.

In my study, the *Circular* is used as evidence of classification methods and objectives of the anthropology of American institutions in the Philippines. From this source, practices of 'scientific methods' are extracted and positioned in

⁷¹ Map featured in Chapter 4.

⁷² Published in 1901, by the Bureau of Print. Available online on archive.org.

the narrative as examples of theoretical and methodological continuities in the American-occupied Philippines with ethnological studies by other imperial entities outside and within the Philippines. As part of the construction of the imperial network, *the Circular* is an important indicator of the efforts to standardise anthropological research based on Darwinism and evolutionism.

The continuity of Darwinism is also found in the next two sources. The first is Daniel Folkmar's *Album of the Philippine Types: Christians and Moros*⁷³. Folkmar's work was a study of the various cephalic measurements and facial structures of Filipino prisoners at the Bilibid Prison. His work was financed by the Philippine Exposition Board, which was in charge of organising a Philippine Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. The content of Folkmar's work was mainly photographs arranged to denote specific facial criteria that Folkmar believed exhibited critical physical racial characteristics of the individual, and consequently the tribe he belonged to. Folkmar's study was certainly controversial in today's terms, and was unconventional even during its time. Yet, his study was useful for revealing the degree and extent of racialisation and racial classification in the American administration⁷⁴. In my thesis, the references made in these two sources imply the transcendental qualities of social Darwinism, particularly on how commonly the idea of a linear trajectory of human development was accepted.

The next source is by Alfred C. Haddon (1850-1940). Haddon was a British anthropologist based in Cambridge University who travelled to the Philippines in 1905-1906 as a short excursion from his fieldwork at the Torres Strait. In 'An Ethnological Survey of the Philippines' (1906)⁷⁵, Haddon emphasised the tribal mode of life as an indicator for a group's susceptibility to be 'civilised', hence

⁷³ Full title: *Album of the Philippine Types: Christians and Moros. Eighty Plates Representing Thirty-Seven Provinces and Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904. URL: <https://archive.org/stream/albumofphilippin00folkuaft#page/4/mode/2up>, accessed 12th June 2018.

⁷⁴ See Oscar V. Campomanes, "Images of Filipino Racialization in the Anthropological Laboratories of the American Empire: The Case of Daniel Folkmar", *PMLA*, vol. 123, no.5, 2008: 1692-1699.

⁷⁵ Alfred C. Haddon 'An Ethnological Survey of the Philippines', *Nature*, vol. 73, no. 1903 (1906): 584-586.

simultaneously determining the position of the tribe in a racial hierarchy. One instance of this mode of reasoning is apparent in the passage below:

They [the Battaks; another group considered 'primitive' in the article] like the Negritos of Zambales and elsewhere, are worth special investigation, as they represent the first stage of the passage from a hunting to an agricultural mode of life. No people at this stage of culture has been at all adequately studied from the sociological point of view, and our American colleagues have here a fine opportunity for an investigation that are much needed by ethnologists and sociologists.⁷⁶

The last two type sources are part of the most crucial analysis in my own work. The first are the collection of *Reports of the Philippine Commission*⁷⁷, which was published annually from 1901 to 1916. A *Report* contained bureaucratic accounts from the various government divisions, including the Secretary of Interior and the Department of Public Instruction. The annual production of reports also allows me to draw a timeline of critical events and the development of ideas and methods of governance that were employed. The *Reports* are the most comprehensive sources that can be found on the American administration in the Philippines. In my thesis, the *Reports* were used to trace collaboration between institutions of the American colonial government. The relationship between the BNCT, Bureau of Census, the Department of Public Instructions (DPI) and the Bureau of Health were essential to the formulation and perpetuation of racial classification in the Philippines. The *Reports* are evidence of the power of bureaucracy in formalising racial categories⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.586.

⁷⁷ From 1901 to 1916, all reports were published by the Government Printing Office in Washington.

⁷⁸ Additional sources not discussed in this literature review, but had supplemented this research with an added knowledge of the people of the Philippines during the American occupation are: Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1908), George A. Malcolm, *The Government of the Philippine Islands: Its Developments and Fundamentals* (Rochester, New York: The Lawyers Co-Operative Pub. Co., 1916), and Maximo M. Kalaw, *Self-Government in the Philippines* (New York: The Century Co., 1919).

Lastly, I utilised the censuses of the Philippines, taken in the year of 1903, 1918 and 1939. The census of 1903 was published by the United States Bureau of Census in Washington, while the remaining two were published in Manila by the Bureau of Printing. Each census was published in four volumes. Most consistently arranged throughout all three censuses were the first two volumes, which was first, geography and second, population. Data on racial classification can be found in the introduction to the first volumes, as an ethnological and historical report of the Philippines. The volume on population usually elaborated on the distribution of the various tribes around the islands, including other criteria like religion and nationality. In my thesis, I argue that censuses are important documents in the formalisation of racial categories. I also demonstrate how the censuses were created not only through the collaboration between institutions of the American administration, but also the collaboration between the American administration and the Filipinos. In their own way, each census encompassed 'native voices', yet were still bound to colonial categorisations.

2.4.2. Reflecting Evolutionism and Race in the Philippines: Contemporary Scholarship

Anglo-Saxonism and Darwinism permeated discussions on race and racial taxonomy in the United States in the twentieth to early twenty-first centuries. The discussions mainly look into the history of how race was understood from the formative years of colonisation of America in the sixteenth century to the Civil Rights movement in the twentieth century. The following sources facilitate the formulation of my own understanding of the context and development of racial thoughts in the United States, and how that was applied to the Philippines. Additionally, this section will also explore the gap in the literature on the history of race and racialisation in the United States and the Philippines.

According to Reginald Horsman, the origin of scientific ideas on race in American history goes back to 'the obsession' with the Germanic idea of racial superiority⁷⁹. Ideas from scientists such as Petrus Camper (1722-1789) and Blumenbach (1752-1840), whom each wrote extensively on the different forms

⁷⁹ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England, 1981), p.20.

of racial classifications and the methods to determine them, were brought to the United States through the influx of European scientific literature in the 1820s to the 1830s. Both scientists were inclined to present the European race at the top of the racial hierarchy. By the 1840s, craniology and phrenology were widely accepted by American scientists. Therefore, the advanced arguments on evolution argued by Spencer (1820-1903) and not long after, Darwin, were accepted as an extension of previous prepositions by Dutch and German scholars⁸⁰. Horsman demonstrates that American scientific thoughts were a European legacy, but the research undertaken by American scientists led to a unique blend of European theoretical foundations with American ethnological components. One of the best known and widely circulated writings on racial taxonomy in the United States, according to Horsman, was by Samuel Morton's *Crania Americana* (1839), in which Morton compared skulls of different Native American tribes⁸¹.

The intellectual connection between Europe and the United States that influenced American scientific ideas on race is one of the central themes in my thesis. What sets my approach apart from Horsman is the use of ecological framework over chronologically constructed arguments. Horsman connected the European legacy to American intellectual growth chronologically, implying that the ideas circulating the United States at the time of its occupation of the Philippines were inherited from Europe. I approach the same argument using the ecological framework; instead of tracing the origin of European ideas across American history, I focus on the nearest time-frame just prior to the occupation of the Philippines and look into interactions formed between the United States and European imperial powers that shaped the ideas of race in America.

Arguments comparable to Horsman can be found in Adas' *Machines as Measures of Men*, and his account of the global history of the origin of racist ideas. Adas argues similarly with Horsman that the origin of racist—a term Adas prefers over race—ideas came from Europe. Adas proposes an alternative factor that preamble scientific ideas of race in Europe and the United States: religion. According to Adas, racial difference was embedded in

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 52-59, p.143.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 145.

the adherence to the Christian Church⁸². Religion, it seems, attested to the inherent ability of a group to appear more civilised than others, and inevitably, more superior. Religious sentiments came to American shores through missionaries and colonisers. Consequently, the development of evolutionary ideas in the United States was supplemented with religious disposition⁸³. Adas affirms my understanding that religious ideas influenced racial thoughts in the Philippines. The dichotomisation of the Filipino into two classes based on their religious adherence, Christians and non-Christians, was introduced by Spanish authorities. As has been argued by Adas, there was an innate belief that religion could determine a group's place in a racial hierarchy. Religion as a variable is discussed more extensively in my own study by focusing on the racial division of Christians/non-Christians.

More recent literature engages with race as an explanation of the phenomena of racism and its place in the history of science and colonialism. The articulation of race as a scientific concept and its position in the history of colonialism are discussed by Michael Yudell in *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth-century*⁸⁴ and by Robert Wald Sussman in the *Myth of Race*⁸⁵. Yudell argues that colonialism was one of the most significant developments in the Western world that contributed to the idea of racial hierarchy. Subjugation enabled the European, and later American colonialists and scientists to study colonised subjects in methods deemed objective. More importantly, colonialism legitimised the idea that the European race was superior to other races⁸⁶. Similarly, Sussman approached the history of race as a scientific ontology by attempting to debunk the prevalent notion of racial superiority/ inferiority. According to Sussman, the very conception of 'race' as a scientific concept during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in the

⁸² Adas, *Machines as Measures of Men*, p.31.

⁸³ Ibid, p.404. The role of religion in developing scientific thought on race is also discussed in a more recent work by Keel, in 'Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins', pp.25-32

⁸⁴ Yudell, *Race Unmasked*, pp.2-12.

⁸⁵ Sussman, *The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (Harvard, Mass. & London, England, 2014).

⁸⁶ Yudell, *Race Unmasked*, pp. 2-12; pp. 95-100.

United States was the troubling factor that had allowed racism to persist⁸⁷. Racial classification in the Philippines is one example of how ideas of racial hierarchy and racism under a colonial administration operated. The theoretical foundation of a scientific conceptualisation of race in the Philippines was embedded from the development of racial ideas in the United States demonstrated by Yudell and Sussman in their respective studies.

Stamped from the Beginning by Ibram X. Kendi also adds to my understanding of how ideas of race developed from the colonisation of America to American imperialism overseas⁸⁸. Kendi uses historical records to argue that racism was inherent in exploration and colonial activities. Kendi further attests that race was a concept that was at the beginning, abstract. It was not conceived through science nor did any scientific explanation prevail during the early phases of expansion and imperialism in North America⁸⁹. This is an interesting point to ponder. Early explorers' writings of the Philippines, dating from Pigafetta⁹⁰ and later by German ethnologists contain some references to race. In one example, Pigafetta described the 'tattooed Visayan chief' and 'all his gold ornaments'⁹¹. There were no instances in Pigafetta's writing on the Visayan attributes that could be used as a premise for constructing racial hierarchy. The construction of racial ideas that pervaded colonial writings in the nineteenth and twentieth-century were usually infused with reference to scientific ideas. However, what Kendi highlights successfully in his study is that the absence of 'scientific' methods or descriptions of racial differences does not mean that 'race' as an idea was not prominent in early writings. My own thesis intentionally excludes early Spanish sources that are deemed outside of the scope of my study, but I take into consideration Kendi's

⁸⁷ Sussman, *The Myth of Race*, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁸ Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*, pp. 15-30.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 6-10.

⁹⁰ See Pigafetta in Chapter 1, on the history of the Philippines.

⁹¹ Antonio Pigafetta, 'First Voyage Around the World', from *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, volume 33, ed. Emma Helen Blair, trans. James Alexander Robertson (Ohio, 2013), p 16. URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/42884/42884-h/42884-h.htm>, accessed 15th April 2016.

arguments on the prevalence of racial ideas as a context to racialised policies that lasted throughout the Philippines' colonial history.

My final reflection on the discourse on race is on the social implications that encompass human relations and not scientific ideas per se. I am interested in looking at racialised policies, and how these policies resulted in the disparate governance of the Christians and non-Christians. This had resulted in perpetuating the divide between these two groups. There are previous studies on the relations between different race and classes. Stoler's scholarship on the matter is regarded as the most significant contribution in shaping current thoughts on this relationship in a colonised entity. I will review three of her works that are most relevant to my analyses.

First, in 'Tense and Tender Ties'⁹², Stoler provided a prolegomenon that stresses on the historiography of the intimate and the silenced in American literature on race. Here, Stoler laid out the 'silenced' and the subdued aspects of racial discourse. The governance of social relations, Stoler argues, had more lasting and severe implications for racial classifications. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, there is a large void in Filipino literature by the non-Christians. What we know of the non-Christians are largely taken from observations made by Spanish, American and Christian-Filipino writers. Stoler's study of the 'voices' of the 'silenced' in American racial historiography, in this case, provides a justification for me to argue that while the non-Christians are duly underrepresented in literature, their explicit presence can be evidence of effective racialisation. Similar arguments made in *Along the Archival Grain* elicits the possibility of an inclusive approach in dealing with the absence of non-Christian literature, and the overload of materials on non-Christians during the American occupation. Here, Stoler focuses on the potential narrative that may be derived from archival activities of an imperial entity. The creation of taxonomies can be inferred from the pattern exhibited in the archives⁹³.

⁹² Published in the edited volume, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in Northern American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 23-67.

⁹³ *Along the Archival Grain*, pp. 9-12; pp.25-30.

The categorisations and maintenance of categories are discussed further in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*⁹⁴. Stoler explains that European cultural standards were often compromised in the colonies in order to create and maintain a hierarchy in the population. These three sources led me to use American colonial documents to look into subdued inferences on race and racial policies in the Philippines.

Minor history, as I use it here, marks a differential political temper and a critical space. It attends to structures of feeling and force that in “major” history might be otherwise displaced⁹⁵.

The theme in Stoler’s works exposes the various appearances of racial politics that exist within a territory identified as a colony, with similar restrictions imposed on the natives and parallel motives for control. The social and political environment of the imperialism in the late nineteenth-century injected the right amount of motivation and resources for extensive work on the scientific study of race in the United States and the Philippines.

2.4.3. Categorisation and Racialisation in the American Colonial Administration

This section looks at the literature on the history of racialisation in American administration of the Philippines. The United States annexation of the Philippines was the beginning of the policy of racialisation. According to Paul A. Kramer in ‘Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between British and US Empires, 1880-1910’⁹⁶, American exceptionalism and Anglo-Saxon sentiments were two powerful ideas that dominated Congressional debates in 1898 on whether or not to occupy the Philippines. Kramer further explains that the debates centralised on the belief that Anglo-Saxon superiority has made the Americans felt ‘chosen’ to guide the Philippines into civilisation. The element of race in the congressional debate was again recounted in Rick Baldoz’s ‘The Racial Vectors of Empire:

⁹⁴ *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, pp. 18-24.

⁹⁵ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, p.7.

⁹⁶ Published in Go and Foster, pp. 43-91.

Classification and Competing Master Narratives in the Colonial Philippines⁹⁷. Baldoz moved beyond the point of American exceptionalism and Anglo-Saxon dominance to argue that the racial vector which permeated discussions in the Congress were fundamentally an extension of racial anxiety experience in the United States. The Congressional debates were only a start, but an influential one, to the formation of racial classification, scientific or perceptual, in the Philippines. Racialisation are argued in these works as part of a racial anxiety among Americans. The Filipinos, if assimilated into the United States, were perceived as potential threats to Anglo-Saxon racial purity. Equally, the acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority subjected the Americans to a moral obligation to guide and protect the 'inferior' Filipinos and equip them with knowledge of governance. However, there is no account in these sources on the role of science in facilitating the deployment of Anglo-Saxon sentiments to justify or argue against annexation.

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, Anglo-Saxon hegemony was the proponent of not only political and diplomatic decisions. It was also a factor that must be taken into consideration when annexation eventually took place. The role of science in formulating an 'objective' decision to annex is implicit and is traceable only by consolidating peripheral actors in this juncture of history. Anglo-Saxon hegemony was not only an imperial tool—it was an imperial tool that was galvanised by scientific studies on race. In this thesis, the interaction between imperial actors sets out to illustrate the interdependency between science, Anglo-Saxonism and imperial ambitions.

The most comprehensive account of race and colonialism in the Philippines is Kramer's *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*⁹⁸. Kramer focuses on the struggle endured by the Filipinos on account of the ingrained racial prejudice from Spanish and American colonialists. There are many points from this book which will make its appearance in my study, and which from the very beginning had assisted me in forming my own research question. First, Kramer maintained throughout that the racial classification of the Filipinos was a political construct. Second, Kramer focuses more than any other elements, on American institutions. From the Congress to the BNCT, these institutional actors were crucial to the

⁹⁷ Published in *Du Bois Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, in 2008: 69-94.

⁹⁸ Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press in 2006.

formation of a concise narrative of racial classification in the Philippines, specifically in augmenting the differences between the Christians and non-Christians. Finally, Kramer's uses of primary sources from the American government highlights the policies of racialisation that continued to be perceived by the United States of the Filipinos. Despite repeated declarations of 'Filipino progress' and 'improvements' by the administration, these primary sources, as I will elaborate later, projected the implicit sentiment of the Americans towards the Filipinos.

I acknowledge Kramer's arguments, but in my own study I move myself away from his arguments to explore several links in the historical timeline into which scientific notion of race manifested within the political and religious discourse on race. This entails situating the Philippines as a focal point of interactions between imperial actors, not just American institutions in the Philippines. Kramer addresses policies formulated by the American administration as a contributing factor to the continuing racialisation of the Filipinos. The lacuna left in his detailed narrative is on the intertwining developments between Germany and Britain outside of the Philippines, specifically on how, as I mentioned earlier, sentiments and ideas were exchanged between a network of imperial actors. The interconnectivity between imperial actors sets the tone and tempo for the racialised perceptions the Americans had of the Filipino. The policies of racialisation in this case, was not only an American prerogative but part and parcel of imperial interactions.

Another comprehensive history of race in the American-occupied Philippines is Warwick Anderson's *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines*⁹⁹. Anderson looks into the extensiveness of prejudicial consciousness among Americans in the Philippines through their observation of hygiene and sanitation. Anderson explicates that the Americans bore a psychic burden of educating the Filipinos on basic sensibilities on sanitation and methods of disease prevention, while simultaneously adhering to a regimented habit to curb repercussions of living in the tropics, especially its diseases. What is interesting in Anderson's observation of the Americans was how they related adaptability to sanitation reforms and hygiene regulations as a manifestation of civilisation. Inevitably, this relates to the preconception among Americans that the Filipinos were 'unclean', and this

⁹⁹ Published in Durham and London: Duke University Press in 2006.

was mainly due to the characteristic of their race. Furthermore, the strict regulations on hygiene also discouraged complete assimilation between Americans and Filipinos, hence widening the racial gap between the two groups.

Anderson's study is vital in providing new depth and angle on the racial discrimination during the occupation, and how it manifested in many policies. In my study, the issue of racialisation based on health policies is used to explain how racial lines were drawn between different groups of Filipinos, and not just between the Filipinos and the Americans. Moreover, issues of hygiene and pathology are used in my thesis to exemplify the perpetuation of racial classification that were mostly grounded on Social Darwinism and scientific notions of race. I infer that the regulation of health policies was not merely on its own a form of racial classification, but an example of how stigmatisation against Filipinos was perpetuated based on their perceived lack of hygiene and the general climate of the islands that were saturated with microbes and diseases.

The epistemic angles taken by Kramer and Anderson are diverging points in the history of race in the Philippines¹⁰⁰. Kramer has divulged in great detail of the measures taken by the American, and prior to that, Spain, in order to contain the Filipinos within categories that were comprehensible to the colonial administration. The issue of containment and control is also discussed by Anderson¹⁰¹. Here, racialised policies again appear as a colonial apparatus to organise and classify. Integrated with the approaches taken by these authors are my arguments that the formation of racial classification was not only an

¹⁰⁰ This divergence is both attributed to their respective arguments, and the authors' position in writing Filipino history. I find the consistency on the arguments on the Christians/non-Christian dichotomy and the racialisation of policies to be an augmentation of my own arguments, rather than redundancy. Stoler advises: 'One way to bring racisms' histories and our accounts of those histories into better line is to attend closer to the disparities in both our stories of origin and in the range of attributes by which we consider racisms should be defined', in 'Racial Histories', p.385.

¹⁰¹ Similarly, by Paul A. Kramer, 'The Darkness that Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War', in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in Northern American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006): 366-404.

administrative outcome but part of a more extensive network of imperial knowledge-exchange which took place beyond the temporal and spatial borders of the American-occupied Philippines. I converged their arguments in my analyses and expand it to infer that race was formed based on continuous perceptions and dependencies on historical data and standardised scientific practices that may or may not clash with administrative interests.

The exclusivity of the Philippines to the United States is conceptualised in Scott Kirsch's paper, 'Insular Territories: United States Colonial Science, Geopolitics and the (re)mapping of the Philippines'¹⁰². According to Kirsch, the production of colonial knowledge was what motivated the United States to engage in various forms of scientific studies around the islands. The creation of a repository of data on the Philippines allowed the United States to re-affirm their position in the islands and accordingly created a domain of exceptional imperialism that was different from European imperialism in Southeast Asia. Kirsch also points out the significance of ethnology and census-taking as part of the operations involved in order to unify American knowledge of the islands. The presentation of insular research substantiates arguments on the exclusivity of racial classification within the Philippines, and the United States during the occupation.

2.4.4. Filipino Historians and the American Occupation

Writings on the history of the Philippines may shed some ideas on the nature of relationships between the Americans and the Filipinos, and how that relationship implicates narrative of unity and disunity between the two groups of Filipinos—the Christians and the non-Christians. I find in particular, the way Americans were depicted were telling of how the issue of race were treated in historical writing. According to Grace Mateo, early

¹⁰² Published in *The Geographic Journal*, vol. 182, no.1, 2014: 2-14. Additional discussions in James A. Tyner, 'The Geopolitics of Eugenics and the Exclusion of Philippine Immigrants from the United States', *Geographical Review*, vol. 89, no.1, (1999): 54-73, pp.65-68; Vince Bodreau, 'Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance: The U.S. Colonial State and Philippine Mobilization in Comparative Perspective', in Julian Go and Anne Foster (eds.), *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003): 256-290.

twentieth-century historical narratives were inclined to depict the colonisers as 'us versus them'. This binary view was meant to provide a unifying narrative of the Filipinos. There was also the school of thought that was critical of a simplistic, and often misleading narrative of Filipino unity¹⁰³. I observed that there were phrases in key historical works written after independence that gave the Americans more positive portrayals than it was common in sources that were written more recently. A review article written by Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda Francisco seems to confirm this observation, as the article argue that historical narratives in the Philippines were dominated by the Hispanicised Filipinos, or the 'right-wing literature'. These texts did little to account for the different colonial experiences of the non-Christians, nor did they provide an adequate analysis of American colonial motives¹⁰⁴. While positive portrayals may not necessarily mean that Filipino nationalism that emerged during the American occupation and immediately after as having adopted an 'Americanized' principles and sentiments, it has implications on historical depictions of Filipinos. Issues of positive portrayals, while may not be consistent across the historiographical timeline, were consequential to how race relations and racial taxonomy were discussed in contemporary Filipino historical literature.

Before I embark on a review of 'pro-American' sources or the 'right-wing literature' in Filipino historiography, I would like to initiate the discussion with two contributions by a 'leftist' historian of the Philippines from the twentieth century, Renato Constantino. I believe that the subsequent literature in this section is only relevant due to its contrasting narratives of the American occupation with that of Constantino's. In 'The Mid-Education of the Filipinos'¹⁰⁵, Constantino explained how the United States 'Americanized' the Philippines by implementing an education system which

¹⁰³ Grace Estela C. Mateo, 'A History of Ilocos: A Story of the Regionalization of Spanish Colonialism' (PhD Dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2004), pp.2-3.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda Francisco, 'Philippine Historiography and the Demystification of Imperialism: A Review Essay', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 4, no.3, (1974): 344-358, pp.349-351.

¹⁰⁵ Originally published in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* in 1970, vol. 1, no. 1, and re-published by the same journal in 2000, a year after Constantino's death. See Renato Constantino, 'The Mis-Education of the Filipino', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 30, no.3, (2000): 428-444.

taught young Filipinos to 'conform to American ideas'¹⁰⁶. Among the important arguments in this article are i) American education policies in the Philippines were colonial instruments of control and psychological subjugation; ii) American education system has created a class of Filipinos that were dependent on the United States in terms of culture, the economy, and understanding of Filipino identities. Constantino alleged the conformities to foreign standards are partly to blame for how Filipinos 'worry about the sensibilities of foreigners lest they think ill of us for supposedly discriminating against them'¹⁰⁷; and iii) the outcome of the American education system was a creation of an elite class that cannot grasp the need of the masses because American education had attempted to create Filipinos loyal to the United States, but at the same time, these 'opportunities' were not equally distributed among the masses¹⁰⁸. Constantino's arguments were cored around the issue of indoctrination of the Filipinos by the American occupiers. The education policies of the United States in the Philippines had effectively inculcated values that Constantino remarked was counter-intuitive to Filipino nation-building.

In another article published in 1976, Constantino highlighted the creation, or rather the distortion of Filipino identity and consciousness¹⁰⁹. According to Constantino, the turbulent period between the fall of the Spanish regime and the advent of American rule saw a 'confrontation between two forms of consciousness'; that of the elite Filipinos that were already inculcated with Spanish values and apathetic to the masses on the 'outer circles' of the Hispanicised communities, and the masses that had only superficially absorbed the ideologies that drove the spirit of revolution in 1898¹¹⁰. Constantino elicited 'the people did not seem to be aware that the government that spoke for them did not really represent them.'¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 430.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 437.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 438-439.

¹⁰⁹ 'Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 6, no. 2, (1976): 129-147.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 132-133.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 133.

masses were unsure and generally complacent in dealing with the betrayal by the elites that had shifted their loyalties from revolutionaries to embrace the United States as allies when it seemed that American occupation was inevitable after the Treaty of Paris. Constantino's analyses of nationalism in the Philippines towards the end of the American occupation found parallels between the labour unions in the Philippines and the United States. Here, he again pointed out the lack of originality and the ideological dependency which pervaded Filipinos even in their struggle for independence¹¹². The leftist approach taken by Constantino counters the tone of historical narration in the following literature. The contrast is a manifestation of the left-versus-right wing method in Filipino historiography, providing context and case for the discussion on 'native voice' in primary sources by 'natives' as well as cautioning me on the partialities that appeared in the literatures used in this thesis.

The 'right-wing' approach in Filipino historiography balances out arguments from the leftist literature. In the *Introduction to Filipino History* by Teodoro A. Agoncillo, the author began the history of the country from its annexation by Spanish imperial army, with an only brief look into Filipino societies before massive Hispanicisation, and ended with the social crisis the country faced in the 1960s¹¹³. The chapters on the advent of the United States illustrated the Americans as noble figures about to guide the Philippines to become a modern, free country which Filipino statesmen had aspired their own country to be. Agoncillo did not ignore that the assistance Americans promised to the Filipino freedom-fighters during the Spanish-American war in 1898 was a deception, as is implied in this passage on General Aguinaldo¹¹⁴:

Aguinaldo issued a strongly worded proclamation saying that
 "my government is disposed to open hostilities if the

¹¹² Ibid, p. 141.

¹¹³ Published in Quezon City, by R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., Inc. First edition was published in 1974, and then the second in 1985.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 1 for historical background on Filipino nationalism and Aguinaldo.

American troops attempt to take forcible possession of the Visayan islands.”¹¹⁵

Nevertheless, the American administration after the Filipino-American war in 1901 was more positively depicted:

Nationalism under the circumstances was suppressed. However, some measures of freedom [were] given to the Filipinos. For example, they were allowed to form political parties whose platform was not based on independence.¹¹⁶

This passage is an example of ‘right-wing’ generalisation of the nationalist movement as pointed out by Fast and Francisco¹¹⁷. Agoncillo also depicted the policy of benevolent assimilation that was used as colonial propaganda enthusiastically:

One of the greatest achievements of the Americans in the Philippines was the introduction of the public school system. Unlike Spain’s educational policy which, while good on paper, was in practice based on brutal methods, the American system of education was democratic.¹¹⁸

The authors Gregorio F. and Sonia M. Zaide¹¹⁹ had adhered to the same narrative pattern. Other than the introductory chapters which described the pre-Spanish cultures in the Philippines, Zaide and Zaide mirrored Agoncillo in its interpretation of colonial history, specifically the American occupation. The introduction to a chapter goes as follow:

The American occupation of the Philippines was the first experience of the United States at colonization. Unlike Britain,

¹¹⁵ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, p.160. In reference to Emilio Aguinaldo, revolutionary and soldier during the war against the Spain. He was also president of the First Philippine Republic that was declared in 1899. His presidency ended in 1901 when he was captured by the Americans.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.186.

¹¹⁷ Fast and Francisco, ‘Philippine Historiography’, pp.350-351.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.188.

¹¹⁹ Gregorio F. and Sonia M. Zaide, *History of the Republic of the Philippines* (Manila: National Bookstore Inc., 1987).

Holland, and other imperialist powers, America adopted a relatively altruistic colonial policy, giving the Filipinos as much self-government as they could possibly exercise and train them in democracy.¹²⁰

The outcome of the benevolent assimilation was also described positively, but it slightly differed from Agoncillo in one aspect—Zaide and Zaide asserted that the assimilation was mostly beneficial to the elite Filipinos. An example of such arguments can be seen in the paragraph below:

Evidently, the Americans continued to favour the Filipino landed elite. Agricultural lands were undertaxed, and agricultural products exempted from taxes to encourage export crop production. Rich *hacenderos* enlarged their holdings and became the most stable allies of the American colonials.¹²¹

These two texts did not inspect the social and political repercussions of the benevolent assimilation policy in-depth. Furthermore, their stylistic preferences were a reflection of the objectives of history of the era, which Agoncillo declared: 'In presenting this work to my younger colleagues, I have in mind the instilling in them of the spirit of Filipinism'¹²². Nationalism, a sentiment that had only been inculcated, propagated and celebrated a few decades before in the peaceful acquisition of independence, remained critical in nation-building during the 1970s and 1980s. At the time, presenting the Filipinos as a coherent and cooperative unit was essential, but later works would approach history differently.

One of the most important angles for looking at the Filipinos as a nation is to look at the racial divide which was fostered by colonial powers. The division of the Filipino population into Christians and non-Christians dominated studies produced under the American civil government in the Philippines. This division was both an inherited practice taken from the Spanish government and a reflection of existing American conceptions of racial differences. This view was explored by Vincente L. Rafael in his article, "'White Love': Census and

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.277.

¹²¹ Ibid, p.293.

¹²² Agoncillo, *Introduction*, Preface.

Melodrama in the United States Colonization of the Philippines'¹²³. According to Rafael, in the census of the Philippine Islands taken in 1903, there existed several tables denoting the two categories of the population—Christians and non-Christians—recognised by the United States civil government. This partition in the population provides a vital argument to my own study. While the use of terms suggests an inclination towards religious, instead of a scientific division of race, the frequency with which these terms appeared in government records directed me to anthropological studies in the Philippines that were based on these two categories of the population.

Additionally, a study by Mary Jane Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau: The Politics of Cultural Investigation of the Non-Christian Filipinos'¹²⁴, asserts that these categories were influential in the anthropology scene in the Philippines. According to Rodriguez, the creation of the BNCT allowed further acknowledgements of racial hierarchy to prevail between Americans and Filipinos, as well as among Filipinos, not least from the methods and theories that governed the BNCT approach to anthropology in the Philippines. This source is significant in my own section on the BNCT, an institution which I explored further by linking to the American anthropological hegemony, going back to the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), and how the theories and methods that were used by the BNCT reflected the interest of American imperial agenda in the transfer of knowledge.

The issue of containment and control are also explored in these sources. Here, racialised policies again appear as a colonial apparatus to organise and classify. Rafael and Rodriguez engage with these themes by either looking at the census of 1903 or at a colonial institution. Based on these studies, racialisation was not merely a concept that was applied to demarcate the population into racial categories but formalised through a rigid system of documentation. I expand the arguments of race and classification by looking at both the census and the ethnological surveys. These sources, though may appear objective, were questionable in its accuracies. The polemics of race here are vast, but it necessitates an alternative approach. For instance, I use all three censuses of the Philippines islands taken during the American occupation to demonstrate that racial classifications that were formed were not

¹²³ In *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no.1-4, (1994): 265-297.

¹²⁴ In *Social Science Diliman*, vol. 6, no. 1, (2010): 1-27.

constant. Instead, they each reflected tremendously the dominant scientific trends and the socio-political milieu of the time the census was taken.

Sabino G. Padilla located Negrito groups using a Geographic Information System (GIS) to illustrate the continuity and relevance of research undertaken during the Spanish and American period in consolidating knowledge on the distributions of the Negritos across the country, especially outside of cities¹²⁵. More importantly, Padilla also asserts the confusion and discrepancies that appeared in past population taxonomies. Factors that affected the distribution of racial groups such as intergroup marriages, migration and emigration was argued by Padilla as possible causes for discontinuous and conflicting categories formulated in the early twentieth-century or earlier, with contemporary classifications. While Padilla has argued on discontinuity between past and present models of classification, the study did not explain the progress of racial classification during the period between 1898 to 1935, when American administrators were most active in the region.

In 'Inheriting the Moro Problem: Muslim Authority and Colonial Rule in British Malaya and the Philippines', Donna J. Amoroso looks into another angle of the problem with the structuralisation of the population into Christians and non-Christians¹²⁶. According to Amoroso, the parallel problems faced by the Americans in dealing with the Muslims in the south with the British and the Malays in Malaya indicates how racial categorisation and religious undertones converged and continued to fuelled the enmity between the Christians and non-Christians of the south in the Philippines. The focus on 'non-Christian', albeit the complexities this category entails, were detrimental to— even during the occupation— any notion of unity amongst population. In general, Rafael, Rodriguez and Amoroso strongly argue against the use of the term 'non-Christian' to refer to the 'uncivilised' segment of the population. These authors proposed a new argument in looking at national history—the prevalence of racial disunity behind unity and nationalism.

¹²⁵ Sabino G. Padilla, 'Anthropology and GIS: Temporal and Spatial Distribution of the Philippines Negrito Groups', *Human Biology*, vol. 85, no. 1-3, (2013): 209-230.

¹²⁶ Published as a chapter in *The American Colonial Rule*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster: 118-147.

2.5 Summary of the Review

To what amount can the history of racial classification in the Philippines contribute to our current understanding of race? How had the existing studies on race, anthropology and colonisation affected our general perception of racial science, which, across borders, were practised and understood differently? Stoler, Manickam, Sysling and Kramer, in their individual approaches, discussed how colonisation affected the formation of racial perceptions. Meanwhile, Horsman, Yudell, and Sussman offer a broad history race and racism developed in the United States, notably on how American history of colonialism prevailed upon racial beliefs. Only in the last forty years or so, as Stocking, Asad and Pels and Saleemink demonstrate, anthropological studies underwent an introspection into the origin and nature of the discipline, hence situating anthropological knowledge within colonial history and racial sciences.

The historiography of the Philippines provides an additional contour to the landscape of colonial history and racial sciences. The uniqueness of the population in the Philippines was viewed by American administrators and researchers as harbouring an excellent potential for the advancement of racial sciences. While the fad with race and racialisation has passed, the effects persist. Contemporary Filipino scholars, Rafael, Rodriguez, Padilla and Amoroso each explore the many fronts from which racism and racialisation manifested in the Philippines today—political participation, education, and civil unrests. Their overarching arguments, almost consistent with the writings of Constantino, significantly upholds the idea that American occupation had further widened the gap between the Christians and non-Christians population in the Philippines, two groups which were already burdened by mistrusts and misconceptions with one another. Decades of independence have seen attempts to remedy the consequences of history, yet, like many countries in Southeast Asia, de-colonisation in the Philippines has proven to be an ongoing and expensive struggle. Their views are in contrast with writings of earlier Filipino historians, whereby uncovering the demarcation of the population was secondary to nationalistic recollections of history. The Americans were celebrated, not so much as heroes but more as a welcomed hiatus in between subjugation and independence. For Agoncillo, Zaide and Zaide, nuanced and oftentimes controversial topics of race secondary to a presentation of a unified nation.

The Philippines offers an additional spectrum to our current understanding of race and racial sciences through the forms of scientific practice. The span of topics from which the literature consulted for this study affirms the difficulty of concluding racial classification across political boundaries as being a product of parallel colonial experiences. A more accurate assumption which can be inferred hitherto based on the current literature is that the study of peculiarities of racialisation has been limited to political actors, while the scientific conceptualisation of race is even more limited geographically as more emphasis has been given to the colonial power, and less to its application at the peripheries of the empire.

CHAPTER 3: RACE, ANTHROPOLOGY AND IMPERIALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

3.1 Introduction: Interdependencies and Interactions between Imperial Actors

This chapter aims to converge the various actors that are part of the racial classification of the Philippines. Specifically, this chapter looks beyond the geo-historical scope of the American administration in the Philippines and the racialisation of the population with a proposition that European imperial actors were intellectually, politically and socially influential to the modes and fashion of how Americans perceived and classified race in the Philippines. My argument is that the experience of racial formation in the Philippines evolved from colonial history and intellectual legacy that had developed between the imperial actors with a direct or indirect political presence in the islands. The cultural and historical structures from which each *imperial actors* mobilised their cause and retained their existence made it possible to build intellectual, political and cultural relationships with one another, which in this chapter, *embodies nations, nationality, ideas and actions*. The concept of race, and what conviction in it entails, had travelled, developed and connected these imperial actors. *The imperial network, with this regard, refers to the connections between colonial polities that pre-existed prior to or just at the beginning of the annexation of the Philippines by the United States*. These links, ultimately, allows me to explore the potential sources that had shaped and characterised American administration of racial groups in the Philippines.

Imperial powers are entwined by what Ann Laura Stoler attributes to 'colonial cultness'¹; that despite the cultural and political differences and the

¹ This refers to the formation of complex engagement between European cultures with the locality it presides, in which at the same time, European cultures were seen as transnational and situated to an imperial domain. According to Stoler, historians should study colonial culture in the imperial domains as a configured entity, and not merely a direct manifestation of European culture as practiced in Europe. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 23-4, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 64-67, and

competition that permeated relationships between imperial powers, the sense of affinity between these powers generally upholds similar values and objectives, particularly regarding the management of their colonial subjects. The concept of 'colonial cultness' is substantiated by the analogy of an ecological network by Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer². This involves tying various actors that emerges in the historical timeline to a coherent narrative which aims to explore the forms of knowledge and diplomatic relations that transpired between imperial actors with regards to racial taxonomy in the Philippines at the epicentre of the narrative.

The underlying principle of the imperial network as appears in this chapter draws actors to a space of intersection—the Philippines. The Philippines' unique geographical and historical position has attracted imperial powers to control or explore its islands and its peoples. Annick Cizel describes the American occupation of the Philippines in particular, as the 'alternatives to scientific rationalism, and modernization' and that '[T]he American Philippines stood as a middle empire at the heart of the British, French, German and Japanese Pacific Empires'³. In this description, the Philippines is depicted as a geographically strategic and culturally enticing hub for imperial powers to engage politically and intellectually. The American occupation of the islands contained all the characteristics that is found in European empire-building. The continuity of European imperialism in the American annexation and administration of the Philippines illustrates the significance of the imperial

'Tense and Tender Ties', in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in Northern American History*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 23-67, pp. 24-25.

² Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, 'Institutional Ecology, "Translation", and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-1939', published in *Social Studies of Science*, (1989), vol. 19, no. 3: 387-420. Another reference that justifies the use of 'network' and 'interaction' in this sense is Eva Maria Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765- 1811* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), particularly in this excerpt: "[T]ransoceanic migratory flows also attest to the existence of a densely interwoven ocean where events on one shore cannot be considered in isolation from events on another", p.33. See also Chapter 2.

³ Annick Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines: Rooseveltian Statecraft for Imperial Modernization in an Emergent Transatlantic World Order', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 19, no.4, (2008): 690-711, pp. 690-691, p.704.

network manifested in an analysis of a region⁴. Additionally, the spatial significance of a specific imperial domain can inform us on the ecological nature of the relationships formed between imperial actors. As David Livingstone argues: 'Regional features are not simply external to scientific inquiry, as merely a context into which the "universal science" can be carried out'⁵. The position of the Philippines connected ideas and sentiments, and scientists with imperialists. This chapter analyses these connections by looking at the interactions that were formed and disintegrated between imperial powers.

It must be noted that race and racism presented in this chapter are fluid concepts, variables which appear in multiple interpretations, provoked various enterprises and sentiments that saturates the history of nineteenth and early twentieth-century imperialism⁶. 'Race', therefore, can refer to categories recognised throughout the Western imperial world, such as Teutonic, Asiatic or Negrito. It can also be specific to the Philippines, such as the Malays and mestizos, or Christians and non-Christians. The fluidity here is considered essential to the interactions, as each imperial actor have different concerns what constitutes as race and to whom these concerns are addressed. Among imperial powers, race and racial sentiments had been used to justify colonial policies and actions⁷. The imperial actors, here referring to the United States, Spain, Germany and Britain—were crucial to the development of racial classification in the Philippines. The fluidity of how race was perceived and managed was also formed by the established and regressed relationships between imperial actors.

⁴ Ibid, p. 690.

⁵David Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), p.88. For additional discussion, see Steven Shapin, 'Placing the View from Nowhere: Historical and Sociological Problems in the Location of Science', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 23, no. 1, (1998): 5-12.

⁶ See Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (London: The Bodley Head, 2016), pp.12-40 for discussions on establishing colonies and institutional racism. A more in depth exploration on the relationship between race and imperialism will be in subsequent sections of this chapter.

⁷ See Chapter 2 for elaborations on race, racism and racial sentiments.

Another aspect of racial classification examined in this chapter is the role of anthropology in constructing race. Anthropology studied race as a recognised scientific concept during the nineteenth-century, and the discipline was instrumental in creating a repository of colonial knowledge of colonised peoples. This is especially relevant to the Philippines. The analogy of Anglo-Saxonism, the 'White Man's Burden', paired with Darwinism and the principles of anthropological research permeated the understanding of race and formation of racial classification of the Filipinos⁸. Anthropology in the Philippines and its constructions of racial differences was not an isolated discourse. It stands as part of an overarching history of the theorisation of race in anthropology. This chapter looks into the broader context of imperial interaction that had linked the way race was understood in the Philippines, and how anthropological and political factors influenced the racial classification of the Filipinos.

This chapter is organised to place emphasis on the interactions between imperial actors bound to a specific spatial context and are arranged in a series of sub-sections that does not necessarily conform to a strictly chronological structure. The underlying concepts are imbued within and becomes the direction of these interactions between Anglo-Saxonism and Darwinism. I organise the identified interactions into two phases. First, between 1860 to 1898, just before the American occupation of the Philippines. This phase looks into the formation of ethnology and racial sciences between Spain, Germany, Britain and the United States. The second phase then follows, restricting the discussion to the formative years of the American occupation in the Philippines from 1898 to 1905. This phase of interactions sees continuity and repercussions to the era before, narrowing it down to how the Americans had benefited from and utilised the knowledge obtained from relationships between imperial actors that took place in the previous decades. On the whole, the interactions presented here are consequential to the formation of knowledge on race and anthropology in the Philippines.

⁸ See Chapter 2 for elaboration on 'Anglo-Saxonism' and its place in racial sciences.

3.2 Knowledge-Exchange and Colonial Legacy, 1860-1898: Spain, Germany, Britain and the United States

The second half of the nineteenth-century in Europe saw a dramatic increase in anthropological scholarship on remote territories and peoples. This was when Spain, Germany and the United States' studies on the Philippines begun, and simultaneously Britain and the United States formed a network built on interest on anthropology and classification of race.

3.2.1 Spain and Germany: Intellectual Dynamism and Preclusion of Imperial Ambitions

Spain and Germany had exchanged a significant amount of ethnological data from the early nineteenth-century to the decades just before the American occupation of the Philippines. The frequency of German travels to the Philippines during the early nineteenth-century signified not only the availability of German scholarship on the region and its peoples but also a prolegomenon to an implicit colonial ambition. Germany's involvement in the field of ethnology and anthropology⁹ was not, as was Britain's and the United States', initiated within a colonial axis. Germany did not participate in colonialism until 1884, as extra-European imperial ambition was only possible after the unification of Germany in 1871.

The discipline of anthropology in Germany, or more accurately, in German-speaking countries were never centralised until the twentieth-century. The responsibilities of cultivating studies in ethnology, archaeology and anthropology were undertaken by the various states and institutions such as museums and universities. The Imperial government did not entirely finance research in these disciplines even after 1871¹⁰. If there is any uniformity in the German tradition, it would be the metamorphoses which took place during the

⁹ The term *Ethnologie* were more popularly used to refer to our general, present understanding of Anthropology; but in reference to the German tradition, *Ethnologie* can be contrasted with *Anthropologie* in the nineteenth century in which the former was used commonly to refer to the study of culture, while the latter the referred to physical anthropology. See H. Glenn Penny, 'Traditions in the German Language', in *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by Henrika Kucklick (Massachusetts, Oxford and Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), p.80.

¹⁰ Ibid.

eighteenth and nineteenth-century whereby a shift in the intellectual current transferred an interest in classical humanism to scholarship partial towards naturalism and empiricism. This alteration in the intellectual culture saw explorers and scientists from the German-speaking world travel to Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific Islands to study botany, zoology, and ethnology¹¹. Some of the well-documented expeditions were that of Alexander von Humboldt to Central America¹², Moritz Wagner to Algiers in 1836¹³, and Adolf Bastian to the Asia-Pacific in the 1860s¹⁴.

German-speaking anthropologists' presence in the Philippines brought with them this new rigour for empiricism and systematisation of observation in ethnology and anthropology, an activity that interlaced with diplomacy with Spain and Britain. The German acquisition of the Marshall Islands in 1886 was exemplary of the early diplomatic and colonial contact Germany engaged with Spain after the unification, specifically concerning areas in the Asia-Pacific¹⁵. Before the Marshall Islands and New Guinea were acquired in 1885¹⁶, Germany and German-speaking nationals' presence in the Philippines was accepted by Spain as a part of the intellectual and cultural developments that took place in Europe¹⁷.

Some of the German ethnological excursions to the Philippines just before and after the unification were made by Carl Semper (*The Philippines and its*

¹¹ See Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), pp.3-4 and Fredrik Barth, in Andre Gingrich, Fredrik Barth, Robert Parkin and Sydel Silverman, *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French and American Anthropology* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p.85.

¹² Penny, 'Traditions in the German Language', pp.81-82.

¹³ Ibid, p.83.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.85.

¹⁵ Charles Stephenson, *Germany's Asia Pacific Empire: Colonialism and Naval Policy, 1885- 1914* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), p.6.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.4.

¹⁷ Nathaniel Weston, 'Scientific Authority, Nationalism and Colonial Entanglements between Germany, Spain and the Philippines, 1850 to 1900' (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 2012), pp.13-14.

Inhabitants, published in 1868¹⁸) and Adolf B. Meyer (*The Distribution of the Negritos in the Philippines and Elsewhere*, published in 1899¹⁹) amidst the political tensions between Spanish authorities and the Filipinos²⁰. Spain was undergoing an attempt to transform its empire after suffering several losses of territories including Colombia in 1810, and Mexico and Peru in 1821. Spain needed to convince the Filipinos that they were willing to negotiate several demands, including equality in education and political participation.

The presence of the Germans and German-speaking scholars were helpful to the Spanish administration by providing valuable information on the Philippines. Concurrently, German scholars working on the Philippines maintained an intellectual relationship with the *ilustrados*, a group of educated elite who were spearheading the Filipino demands for justice and equality²¹. Nathaniel Weston noted that through collaboration with Germany, Spain had acquired valuable information on the location and amount of natural resources around the archipelago. Various studies of the peoples and the natural resources of the archipelago were translated from German to Spanish, thus enhancing Spanish knowledge of their colony²². These lucrative contributions consolidated Spanish economic control over the archipelago, which made up for its loss of other territories to the United States and nationalism in Latin America²³.

Racial classification of the Filipinos developed during the era of collaboration between Spain and Germany. The Germans' contribution to Filipino ethnology was the classification of the population into three racial categories: Negrito,

¹⁸ Carl Semper, *The Philippines and its Inhabitants* (Wurzburg: A Strubers Bookstore, 1868), taken from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/24820/24820-h/24820-h.htm>, accessed 15th December 2015.

¹⁹ A. B. Meyer, *The Distribution of the Negritos in the Philippines and Elsewhere* (Dresden: Stingle Co., 1899). Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/distributionofne00meyerich>, accessed 10th January 2016.

²⁰ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 2006), pp.52-55.

²¹ Weston, 'Scientific Authority', p.5.

²² Ibid. This included the works of Semper and Meyer.

²³ Benjamin Coates, *Legalist Empire: International Law and American Foreign Relations in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.39-42.

Indonesian and Malay. Spain adopted these classifications during the late nineteenth century, and took the liberty to adjust the categories into a taxonomy based on the religious attachments²⁴

The sentiments of scholarly dependence did not last between Spain and Imperial Germany. After the German acquisition of the Marshall Islands, Spain realised the probability of Germany becoming an actual threat to Spain in the Philippines. Nathaniel Weston argues that the presence of the Germans in the Philippines simultaneously threatened Spanish *status quo* and benefited them²⁵. The presence of German scholars in the Philippines had an unforeseen consequence—materials of German research in the Philippines gave the educated Filipino elites an alternative view of their country and people, which were initially monopolised and policed by the Spanish authorities. This does not imply that the Spanish did not censure German writings in the translation process, but the very act of translating from another European source is a critical contribution to the budding intellectual energy of Filipino elites²⁶. Filipino nationalists also saw that German scholarship was more objective and reliable than inferences made about the Filipinos by Spanish missionaries, providing an alternative view of the Philippines and its people which complemented Filipino nationalists' aspiration to build the country on reason and scientific rationale²⁷.

German research on the Philippines profoundly impacted Filipino struggles. There existed several contacts between German anthropologists and the Philippines' most prominent nationalist and intellect of the era, Dr Jose Rizal (1861- 1896). Rizal was one of the *ilustrados* and founder of the Propaganda

²⁴ Megan Christine Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists and Ilustrados and the end of Spanish Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), pp.60-64; Florentino Radao, 'The Salvational Currents of Migration: Racial Theories and Social Disputes in the Philippines at the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3, (2018): 426-444, pp. 429-431. Further discussion in Chapter 4.

²⁵ Weston, 'Scientific Authority', p.8.

²⁶ Ibid, pp.4-5.

²⁷ Warwick Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 55, no. 3, (2005): 287-378, p.298.

movement²⁸. Rizal initially saw that the problem with Spain was rooted in the unequal treatment imposed on the Filipinos in the Philippines and, as he found out during his travels, with Spanish subjects in Spain. The *ilustrados* believed that a recognition of the intellectual virtues of accomplished Filipinos would eliminate the disparate treatment they had to endure under Spanish rule²⁹. Rizal's first direct contact with German scientists was while he was in Germany in 1887. As a member of an elite circle made of the most prominent German-speaking scholars, Rizal's gained insight onto how anthropology and ethnology explained the dire prejudice and biases he saw rampant in his own country due to a rigid Spanish perception of the Filipinos' alleged racial inferiority³⁰. Rizal also extended an invitation to German ethnologist, Meyer to become a member of the Board of Directors of the International Association of the Philippinist in 1889³¹. Marissa H. Petrou argues that the invitation extended to Meyer was not merely Rizal's acknowledgement of expertise that would be beneficial for the country's development plans, but it was also because Meyer took a more progressive stance on race than the Spanish administration by promoting scientific enquiries against racial determinism³². The value of German research during the late nineteenth-century that was leaning towards a liberal, empirical understanding of the world was considered by Rizal as an instrument that could help Filipino national cause.

The end of German scientific collaboration with Filipino nationalists came through the naval confrontation with the United States. The German action to assist Filipino nationalists was 'taken in the interest of humanity', but the

²⁸ *The Propaganda Movement* was introduced by a group of Filipino students who were studying abroad. They demanded reform of Spanish colonial government and complete assimilation with the Spanish crown in order to secure equality with Spanish subjects. See Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide, *History of the Philippines* (Manila: National Bookstores, 1987), pp.240-250.

²⁹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.43-48.

³⁰ Resil B. Mojares, 'Jose Rizal in the World of German Anthropology', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 41, no.3/ 4, (2013): 163-194, pp.165-167.

³¹ Marissa H. Petrou, 'Picturing Labor: Gender, German Ethnography, and Anticolonial Reforms in the Philippines', from J.M. Cho and D.T. McGetchin, *Gendered Encounters Between Germany and Asia: Transnational Perspective since 1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 85-108, p.85.

³² Petrou, 'Picturing Labor', pp.89- 90.

eventual collapse of German defences and the transfer of control of the Philippines from Spain to the United States signalled an end to any prominent German presence in Southeast Asia³³.

3.2.2 Britain and the United States: Darwinism Across the Atlantic

The history of American imperialism in the Philippines must be understood within the scope of the political and intellectual relationship with Britain. Prior to 1860, the United States and Britain were bound by their common Anglo-Saxon lineage that was a repercussion of British colonial history in the New World. Anglo-Saxon hegemony additionally became the drive and the rationale behind the American Civil War (1861-1865). Yet, it was evolutionism that had prevailed as a critical scientific British import with a profound impact on the views of race in America, and consequently, in the Philippines. In 1869, Darwin was made an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society. Just a few decades' prior, Spencer had already laid the foundations for the eventual acceptance and dissemination of evolutionism in New England. Spencer, whose background was not biology, but engineering, saw evolutionism as a explanatory sociological tool as early as 1852. Spencer believed that the progress of each human race was determined by a different set of skills, level of intelligence and predisposition to adjust to the environment³⁴. This theory of social selection proposed by Spencer was soon substantiated with the biological evolutionism by Darwin.

In 1860, *The Origin of Species* was introduced to the United States, and a new intellectual legacy from the Old Country found continuity and significance to the American racial narrative. Asa Gray (1810-1888), a botanist from Harvard University and a friend of Darwin, wrote an illustrious review on *The Origin of Species*, published in the *American Journal of Sciences and Art*. While it is simplistic to suggest that Gray's review introduced to the United States ideas of human evolution, it was exemplary of a timely provocation into an

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Herbert Spencer, *First Principle* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), pp. 316-319; see also Spencer in 'Progress: Its Laws and Cause', in *Essays: Scientific, Political & Speculative*, vol. I (London: Williams & Norgate, 1901), pp. 53-55. Spencer's ideas are also discussed by Richard Hofstadter in *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), pp.32-55.

intellectual society that were built upon religious and polygenetic views of race.

Polarisation between the North and South during the American Civil War was intensified by arguments on Darwinism. In 1874, Charles Hodge, the head of the American Presbyterians in Princeton, New Jersey, contested evolutionism on the grounds that it was un-Christian to accept a concept which suggests every living being underwent 'random' and 'accidental' metamorphoses. The 'elimination of purpose and plan' was the only undesirable aspect of the entire notion³⁵. His successor, James McCosh, was more open to the plausibility that evolutionism can be interpreted as compatible with the Church's doctrine³⁶. McCosh was invested in formulating a new framework from which Darwinian evolution could be accepted into academia and the church. The harmonisation between Hodge's criticism and McCosh's stance resulted in the acceptance of Darwinism in Princeton.

The conflict with the majority of Southern scholars on race was mainly on the idea of monogenism behind Darwin's evolution³⁷. The principles of natural selection and survival of the fittest may not clash with the racial doctrines in the South, but the ideological conflict came from one specific premise put forth by Darwin— that species evolved from a single ancestor and adapted to suit and thrive in their respective environments. This premise suggests that the manifestation of differences between species was not due to their different origins, but adaptation and inherited traits from immediate ancestors³⁸. The unity of the human race which this concept implies offended many racialists among the South. Josiah Clark Nott and Louis Agassiz argued that the inherent variances between white Americans and the black slaves came from inherited attributes originating from different ancestors³⁹. In short, the

³⁵ Livingstone, *Science*, p.117.

³⁶ Bradley John Gundlach, 'The Evolution Question of Princeton, 1845-1929'. (PhD Dissertation, University of Rochester, 1995), pp.38-43, pp.144-147; Livingstone, *Science*, pp.120-121.

³⁷ Livingstone, *op. cit.*, p.116.

³⁸ Peter Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1981), pp.177-178.

³⁹ For polygenism and religious foundation of racial thoughts in South, see Terence D. Keel, Religion, 'Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins', *History of the*

fundamental reason which led to the rejection of Darwinism in the south was in the debate between monogenism versus polygenism. However, after the death of Agassiz and Nott, both in 1873, there was little to prevent Darwinism from infiltrating the scientific circles in the country⁴⁰.

3.2.3 Spain and the United States: Inheriting a Colonial Legacy

The relationship between the United States and Spain marks the continuity of colonial rule over the Philippines. There are two eras in which interactions took place between them. First, there was a brief encounter before 1898. Then, the Spanish-American war changed the fates of these two imperial actors and the Philippines. Using Anglo-Saxon sentiments, the victorious Americans painted a picture of Spanish incompetence as being responsible for the deplorable state of the Filipinos. The Americans were determined to pacify animosity of the Filipinos by offering their benevolence and guidance as a substitute to Spanish autocratic rule. The sense of competition between the two imperial actors, however, did not mar the significance of Spanish colonial legacy to American administration of the region. The general classification of Christians and non-Christians adopted by American administrator, in this case, was continuous of Spanish taxonomy of the population.

The United States first scientific voyage to the Philippines was in 1841. Captain Charles Wilkes led 130 naval personnel, civilian scientists and artists across the Pacific and the Indian Ocean on a voyage famously known as the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842)⁴¹. Civilian researchers included geologists, naturalists and philologist but no ethnologists. Subsequent American overseas scientific expeditions would include ethnologists, and yield some records of ethnological observations. The Wilkes expedition was followed by the Steere Expedition in 1876, initiated by the

Human Sciences, vol. 26, no. 3, (2013): 3-32; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp.145-157.

⁴⁰ Keel, 'Religion, Polygenism', p.28; Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, p. 17.

⁴¹ Herman J. Viola, 'The Wilkes Expedition on the Pacific Coast', *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 80, no.1, (1989), pp.21-2 and Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines', p.296.

Department of Zoology, University of Michigan⁴². The leader of the expedition, Professor Joseph Steere was reported to have brought home various plant and bird specimens⁴³. In 1890, the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences launched the Menage expedition which was conducted at the financial expense of philanthropist and science enthusiast, Louis F. Menage. Significantly, both expeditions included a former student of the University of Michigan—Dean Worcester (1866-1924), who would later be appointed as the first Secretary of the Interior of the American civil government in the Philippines⁴⁴. In categorising the population, Worcester was greatly influenced by the founder of the BAE, John Wesley Powell, whose understanding of race was formed around the polarised views of civilised and uncivilised peoples⁴⁵. Though the initial objective of both expeditions was to collect zoological and botanic specimens, ethnological pursuits were not dismissed. Worcester's main observations included taking notes of the distinct characteristics he saw between two groups of people inhabiting the islands⁴⁶. The Menage expedition brought home reports of 'wild tribes' or 'savages' of the islands⁴⁷. Worcester also brought to the United States a collection of photographs of the Manobos, Igorrotes and Negritos he encountered, and he used the works by German anthropologists, Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913) and Theodore Waitz as references. These two expeditions gave American anthropologists and scientists exposure to the demographics of the Philippines, and Worcester's

⁴² Rodney J. Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism: The Philippine Career of Dean C. Worcester* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1991), p.10.

⁴³ R. Bowdler Sharpe, 'Professor Steere's Expedition to the Philippines', *Nature*, vol. 14, no. 353, (1876), 297-298, p.297.

⁴⁴ W.S. Harwood, 'The Menage Scientific Expedition', *The Chantauquan: A Weekly Newsmagazine*, vol. 17, no.6, (September 1893), p.723.

⁴⁵ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.49-51. More on Powell and the BAE in Chapter 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp.23-24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.89. Worcester was seconded in this opinion by Daniel G. Brinton in 'The Peoples of the Philippines', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 11, no. 10, (1898): 293- 307.

participation will play a vital role in shaping the policies on the 'wild tribes' or the non-Christian peoples during the American occupation of the Philippines⁴⁸.

From 1898 to 1902, the United States utilised Anglo-Saxon sentiments as an effort to remove the remaining Spanish colonial presence in the Philippines. The French and British had previously promoted the 'Black Legend', a historical and literary illustration of Spanish brutal and backward rule in Americas and the Indies as part of a campaign to weaken Spanish influence in these regions during the seventeenth and eighteenth century⁴⁹. Ibram X. Kendi described the condemnation against Spanish empire through the work of Bartolomé de Las Casas *Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, in which La Casas argues that to it was justifiable to 'label the Spanish Empire corrupt and morally repugnant, all in their quest to replace Spain as Europe's superpower'⁵⁰.

A similar strategy was applied in the Philippines. One of the proponents of the use of the 'Black Legend' against Spain in the Philippines was the turn-of-the-century American socialite and writer, James A. Le Roy. According to Gloria Cano, in his book *The Americans in the Philippines* (1914), Le Roy put forth arguments which aimed at exposing the negative aspects of Spanish rule in the Philippines, including its inability to enlighten the local inhabitants, especially in fields of science and governance⁵¹. Similarly, the American press was nostalgic and suggested that progress and modernity were part and parcel of the Anglo- Saxon gift to humanity. Such sentimentality permeates the following passage:

At the peace of Paris, however, (1763) which concluded the Seven Years' War, Canada, Louisiana, and various islands in the West Indies having been ceded by France, and Florida and Minorca by

⁴⁸ His contributions in the administration of the Philippines will be elaborated in Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Gloria Cano, 'Le Roy's *The Americans in the Philippines*' and the History of Spanish rule in the Philippines', *PSHEV*, vol. 61, no. 1, (2013): 3-44, pp.18-19. One of the criticism evoked by American administrator against Spanish rule was its lack of organised and enthusiastic scientific endeavours; see Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines', p.299.

⁵⁰ Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*, p.27.

⁵¹ Cano, 'Le Roy's', p.5.

Spain, Great Britain on her part ceded to the latter power Cuba and the Philippines...yet there is to be seen...an inscription celebrating the expulsion of the invading British by the noble and patriotic Don Simon de Anda- an inscription which afforded great amusement to British naval officers visiting the port.⁵²

Pedro Cabán argues that the neutralisation of Spanish colonial memory in the region was imbued within the campaign to 'Americanise' territories ceded from Spain once annexation was complete⁵³. Part of American colonising manoeuvres was to instil American ideology, aspirations and values, manifested from the organisation of the colonial administration and the educational policies⁵⁴. The objective, argues Vincente Rafael, was to make the Philippines as 'American' as possible⁵⁵.

These political developments did not undermine the significance of Spanish sources in the Philippines to the American administration. The interaction developed into forms of knowledge transfers in which Spanish sources were

⁵² 'Spanish brag in Manila' *New York Times* (Aug. 7, 1898), p.15. Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/95681586?accountid=10673>, accessed on the 19th May 2017.

⁵³ Pedro Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932* (Colorado, US: Westview Press, 1999), p.124; Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in Christian Philippines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.8; on Americanisation in the Philippines see Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines', p.699; Golay, *Face of Empire*, pp. 61-62.

⁵⁴ Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People*, pp.124-125. Also in Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.64-67. Discussion on 'Americanization' of the Philippines through educational policies is in Chapter 4.

⁵⁵ According to Rafael, the 'confidence' projected by the Americans was that they did not consider themselves usurpers, justified by the absence of a 'Filipino nation'. The implication of Spanish sporadic, immeasurable control throughout the archipelago had given the Americans reason to view it as lacking of any merit in being considered a sovereign country but merely a patchwork of islands and peoples. From 'White Love: Census and Melodrama in the United States colonization of the Philippines', in *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no. 1-4 (1994): 265-297, p.266.

translated into English for American perusal⁵⁶. American anthropologist, Felix Keesing identified the Spanish documents on the Filipinos as valuable sources of modern anthropological works in the Philippines⁵⁷. The *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905* stated that knowledge of the people of the Philippines had been recorded since the time of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, and made comparisons between data obtained during the 1903 census enumeration and the Spanish censuses of 1877 and 1887⁵⁸. The census also mentioned the *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* written by Padre Chirico from Rome in 1604 which contained data on the conditions of natives in the islands. Franciscan monks and Jesuit orders provided some of the earliest reports of the natives, including an estimation of the total number of population⁵⁹. Many of these sources do not survive but are mentioned in more recent writings.

A further example is the *Atlas de Filipinas* compiled by Padre Jose Maria Algue which provided cartography of the ethnic groups around the islands and was an essential reference during the first years of American occupation. The translation of the *Atlas de Filipinas* to English was done almost immediately after Spanish surrender on 13th August 1898⁶⁰. When the United States was classifying the population, most Spanish names given to the tribes were maintained⁶¹. In 1900, a compilation of ethnological reports from the Spanish era, the *El Archipiélago Filipino Filipinas: Coleccion de Datos* were printed by the United States government⁶². *El Archipiélago* contained an extensive amount of works from German and Spanish writers on the Filipino population.

⁵⁶ Ricardo L. Punzalan, 'Archives of the New Possession: Spanish Colonial Records and the American Creation of a "National" Archives for the Philippines', *Arch. Sci.*, vol. 6, (2006): 381-392, pp.385-388.

⁵⁷ Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p.5.

⁵⁸ In *volume I: Geography and Population*, pp.425-428. See also Chapter 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.429.

⁶⁰ P. Jose Maria Algue, *Atlas de Filipinas: Coleccion de Treinta Mapas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899).

⁶¹ Daniel G. Brinton, 'Professor's Blumentritt's Studies of the Philippines', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1898): 122-125.

⁶² Compiled and written by de la Mision de la Compania de Jesus. Reprinted in Washington by the Bureau of Print.

Significant among the content of *El Archipiélago* were references made to the 'indigenous' status of the Negritos and the Malay invasion just before Spanish advent on the islands⁶³. Discussions on the indigenusness of the Negritos and what will be known as the migration theory in German writings on the Philippines will appear again in American research under the BNCT⁶⁴.

3.2.4 Germany and the United States: Formation of Intellectual and Diplomatic Ties

Germany and United States had an interdependent relationship formed before and outside of the Philippines. German's waning interest in humanism in the eighteenth century and the growing popularity of empirical, positivist pursuits strongly influenced growing academic institutions in the United States⁶⁵. Germany was forming its own, unique enquiry on human life, opting for empirical methods and standardised measurements. This spirit of enquiry was fundamental to the development of the sciences of race. One of the key figures that laid the grounds for the study of the human race, eventually known as anthropology, was Blumenbach. Blumenbach categorised human beings into racial groups using cranial measurements and phenotypical criteria. Germany produced many influential figures in anthropology—Semper, Waitz, Bastian, Rudolf Virchow and Franz Boas—some of whom were involved in research on the Philippines. German ethnographers were valuable knowledge brokers of the cognate science of anthropology to the Americans. Until the early twentieth-century, German ethnologists provided American anthropological studies with critical references, for instance, Rudolf Martin Lehrbuch's *der Anthropologie* (1914) that was considered by American scientific journals as the first comprehensive work on physical anthropology⁶⁶.

German ethnologists also provided valuable data on Philippines' inhabitants that were to become indispensable to the United States administration. For instance, Daniel G. Brinton, an American ethnologist, had compared his racial categorisation of the Filipinos with the classification by German ethnologist,

⁶³ Ibid, pp.155-156.

⁶⁴ More on the *Catalago* in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

⁶⁵ Zimmerman, *Anthropology*, p.62.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Waitz in his book, *The Peoples of the Philippines* (1898). These classifications were incorporated in BNCT research and the Philippine Census of 1905 and 1918⁶⁷. Perhaps the most well-known figure of German anthropology in the Philippines was the Hungarian-Austrian, Blumentritt. His 'armchair technique', which meant he was mostly writing based on his analyses of travellers' and other ethnologists' works on the Philippines and never engaged in any fieldwork in the Philippines, was considered by F.P.A. Demetrio III as susceptible to a romanticisation of the Filipino character⁶⁸. Yet, his works were valuable source of ethnological data on the Philippines⁶⁹. Blumentritt wrote most of his works on the Philippines in German, and it was during this dense period of scholarship he became acquainted with Rizal. As we have seen, his relationship with Rizal evoked some of the criticisms against Spanish racial discriminations against the Filipinos. Blumentritt adhered to the German approach to value empirical data over subjective humanism. Like Rizal, he felt that the Spanish prejudice against Filipinos, especially the urban Filipinos, were not only unjust but scientifically deplorable. His observations of the Filipino people, which he gathered from Rizal and various ethnological materials acquired was what Brinton regarded 'first of scientific writers upon them [the Philippines]'⁷⁰. The friendship of Rizal and Blumentritt were instrumental in bringing forth German anthropology to the Filipinos and the Americans.

Blumentritt's analyses were partial towards creating an antithesis to racial hierarchy and social Darwinism. Through his correspondence with Rizal, which was disclosed in *Views of Dr Rizal, the Filipino Scholar, upon Race Differences*⁷¹, Blumentritt incorporated anthropology into Rizal's criticisms

⁶⁷ Dean C. Worcester reviewed the classifications made by Brinton and Blumentritt and simplified it. The eventual classification is in the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, volume II*, as elaborated in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

⁶⁸ F.P.A. Demetrio III, *Ferdinand Blumentritt and the Philippines: Insights and Lessons for Contemporary Philippine Studies* (Manila: De La Salle University Publishing House, 2010), p.174.

⁶⁹ Brinton, 'Professor's Blumentritt's Studies of the Philippines', pp.122-123.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁷¹ Ferdinand Blumentritt, 'View of Dr Rizal, the Filipino scholar, upon race differences', (International Archives of Ethnology, 1897, translated by R.L. Packard, New York,

against Spanish interpretation of race. Rizal argued that the Filipino circumstances were appalling not because of their ineptness or stupidity, vices which he emphasised are removable and uncorrelated to race, but it was because of the colour of their skin. In addition, Blumentritt concluded that it is not the job of anthropologists to construct a hierarchy of race, but to merely understand physical and cultural differences⁷². Blumentritt's second form of unconventional intervention came as a criticism of American imperial policy on the Philippines. He used his knowledge and familiarity with the Filipinos to give his opinions in the *Washington Sentinel*. Blumentritt rebuked the alleged tutelary position which the United States claimed as the basis for their occupation of the Philippines:

The annexation will never be sympathetic to the Filipino because neither the American dominion nor the Anglo-Saxon does respect those who do not belong to the pure white race, and social intercourse with them will be avoided as if they were lepers, and political equality will never be permitted, even if it was warranted by written laws.⁷³

Blumentritt also criticised the justifications which the United States newly formed Philippine Commission⁷⁴ used in order to legitimise their administration in the archipelago. According to the commission, the Philippines cannot be unified as a nation if there exist linguistic and racial differences. However, argued Blumentritt, this did not prevent Russia or Germany from unification. Blumentritt's inferences were used by anti-imperialists and some Filipino nationalists alike as a retaliation against the American invasion⁷⁵. The views of

1902), URL: <https://archive.org/details/viewsofdrizalfi00blum>, accessed 10th December 2015.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ferdinand Blumentritt, 'America and the Philippines', *Washington Sentinel* (March 10, 1900), p.1. URL: <https://www.univie.ac.at/ksa/apsis/aufi/bluma01.htm>, accessed on 19th May 2017. The Editor-in-Chief on the gazette was Louis Schade, a German-American who was the Vice President of the Washington Anti-Imperialist League.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Referring to the first commission, or the Schurman Commission.

⁷⁵ Coates, *Legalist Empire*, p.42. Coates explained that there was an emphasis among the imperialist faction for 'progress' and 'benevolence', as opposed to the rhetoric of 'imperialism' which was considered damaging to American exceptionalism.

Blumentritt or the contribution of ethnologists such as Semper and Bastian represents what was encapsulated in the interactions between imperial actors. From these set of interactions, knowledge was exchanged in the form of personal connections. Germany was relevant to the Americans due to their long legacy of intellectual patronage. Historical interaction between the actors had hitherto led to the conclusion that empiricism and scientific research in the United States were fostered in German institutions.

3.3 Nationalism and Colonial Administration, 1898-1905: Germany, Britain, and the United States

In the first phase of interactions between imperial actors, Spain, Germany, Britain and the United States had engaged on an intellectual level that was significant to the perception of 'race' and how it can be categorised. The intellectual and diplomatic engagement during the second half of the nineteenth-century sowed the seeds for a more critical period in the history of racial classification in the Philippines—one that overtly displays the impact of colonial knowledge-exchange between imperial actors. Germany and Britain were what President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) calls that 'the great, progressive colonizing nations', characterised by their tutelary successes in spreading law and order. The American admiration for European tutelage and imperialism was fundamental to the developments taking place in the second phase⁷⁶. The second phase is also distinguished from the first by the end of the Spanish rule and the beginning of American colonial administration in the Philippines. The following section illustrates the continuity of interactions between remaining imperial actors until the early twentieth-century — Germany, Britain and the United States.

3.3.1 Germany and the United States: Anthropology and the Challenge of Nationalistic Race Theories

During the first phase of interaction, Germany and the United States developed a symbiotic relationship that was premised on mutual scientific interest and criticisms against American annexation of the Philippines. The shift from classical scholarship and humanism to empiricism attracted

⁷⁶ Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines', pp.698-699.

American students to Germany to receive scientific training. The appeal of scientific methods to explain and understand social and natural problems transferred from German institutions to American doctors and scientists⁷⁷. This form of interaction shifted by the turn of the century due to the developments which took place in the United States.

First of all, anthropology became a professionalised discipline in American government bureaus and universities following the founding of the BAE in 1879⁷⁸. Like in Germany, many of the scientists who first showed interest in anthropology were medical doctors. The professionalisation of anthropology in the United States was built on the ideas of national unity⁷⁹. Government encouragements for scientists to undertake empirical studies were the inheritable, traceable trends that had been expressed explicitly in the American press and by American scholars as being attributed to Germany⁸⁰.

The early twentieth-century saw a decline of American students in Germany and a rising number of international students in American universities⁸¹. It was also during this time that American universities could boast a sense of accumulated intellectual independence and the possession of better university facilities in comparison to German universities⁸². The period also saw a transformation in the study of race in Germany, which effectively changed the course of anthropological studies in German institutions. The direct interactions between German institutions and American students had indeed wavered during this period, but there was a parallel growth in the study of racial hygiene, posing a challenge to liberal notions of human plurality and

⁷⁷ Zimmerman, *Anthropology*, pp.60-62.

⁷⁸ Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, p.11.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.12; Curtis Hinsley, 'Ethnographic Charisma and Scientific Routine: Cushing and Fewkes in the American Southwest, 1879- 1893', in *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork, History of Anthropology, Volume 1*, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983): 53-69 , p.55.

⁸⁰ Henry E. Dwight, 'The Influence of German Universities upon our Profession', *Journal of American Medicine*, vol. 16, no. 3, (1891), pp.438- 439; Gingrich in Barth et.al., *One Discipline, Four Ways*, p.65.

⁸¹ Henry W. Diedrich, 'American and German Universities', *Science*, New Series, vol. 20, no. 500, (1904), pp.157-158.

⁸² Ibid.

equality that was advocated by Meyer and Virchow⁸³. Evolutionism and Social Darwinism were infused as part of the narrative of race and are reflected in their shared culture. This roughly means that asserting the characteristic of a racial group as being biologically determined and was reflective of their psychological and cognitive capabilities was commonly accepted by both German and American scholars on race.

Right-wing narrative of race had inundated discussions in German universities and political institutions from the 1880s⁸⁴. The appeal of the Teutonic race, or the Anglo-Saxon aesthetics as having possessed a superior intellect dominated the ideas of race during the late nineteenth-century⁸⁵. The surge of nationalism during the interwar period in the early twentieth-century contributed to the deterioration of liberal arguments on racial equality. Racial-mixing between individuals from the superior Teutonic race with individuals from an inferior race provoked the demands for racial purity⁸⁶.

The standardisation of anthropometric measurements and the centralisation of scientific research meant that German anthropology had to revise its objectives to appeal to national interest, and physical anthropology emerged as an ever more distinctively separate discipline from ethnology⁸⁷. Robert Proctor explains this as the rise of the feeling of 'otherness'—generally attributed to the loss Germany suffered after the First World War—which was shifted to the external others, specifically Jews and other minority groups.⁸⁸ By the 1910's genetics was a growing discipline, and in tune with the demands of the time, anthropology stepped away from morphological explanations and

⁸³ Penny, 'Traditions in the German Language', p.91; Barth in Gingrich et.al, *One Discipline, Four Ways*, p.95.

⁸⁴ McMahon, 'Anthropological Race Psychology', p.582.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.583; Richard McMahon, 'The History of Transdisciplinary Race Classification: Methods, Politics, and Institutions 1840s-1940s', *BJHS*, vol. 51, no. 1, (2018), p.53.

⁸⁶ MacMahon, 'Anthropological Race Psychology' p.587; Gingrich in Gingrich et.al, *One Discipline, Four Ways*, p.92.

⁸⁷ McMahon, 'The History of Transdisciplinary Race Classification', pp.52-53.

⁸⁸ Robert Proctor, 'From *Anthropologie* to *Rassekunde* in German Anthropological Tradition', in *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological History of Anthropology, Volume 5*, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1988), p.139.

settled towards essentialist, deterministic categorisation of race⁸⁹. Anthropology consequently was torn between the liberal, empiricist notion of race, and the growing politicisation of racial sciences that monopolised Nazi anthropology during the Second World War. In such matters, the United States echoed these developments in Germany.

The United States of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century was one of the fastest growing economies in the world. It was also receiving one of the highest numbers of immigrants on its shores, which were both beneficial to its industries and a cause of alarm to racial purists. Anxiety over racial purity emerged, and was linked to religious affiliations, which was exhibited in values and behaviour⁹⁰. The emergence of eugenics in the early 1900s ran parallel with the concept of racial purity. American racial theorist, Charles B. Davenport, called eugenics as the 'science of improvement of the human race by better breeding'⁹¹. Eugenics was used to explain the moral decay and intellectual deficiency among marginalised groups in the United States, i.e., African Americans, native Americans and a number of European ethnicities such as the Irish⁹². Some of the issues that arose from studies on eugenics and racial purity were how could anthropology complement these new findings? The knots to American anthropology's dilemma and uncertainties were gradually being unravelled by Boas who was a German-Jew. Boas contested the very foundation which German anthropology was being rebuilt on during the early twentieth-century —the purity of race.

Boas is considered the founding father of American anthropology⁹³. He was educated in Germany but had spent most of his life teaching and doing

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.146.

⁹⁰ Harris, *God's Arbiters*, p.77.

⁹¹ Charles B. Davenport in *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* (1911), as cited in Glick, 'The Anthropology of Race', pp.310-340; for more discussions on Davenport's social concerns interplayed with his effort to promote eugenics, see Yudell, *Race Unmasked*, pp.38- 43.

⁹² Allen, 'The Eugenics Record Office', p.320; Yudell, *Race Unmasked*, pp.14-15.

⁹³ Darnell, 'And Along Came Boas', p.1; Silverman in Gingrich et.al, *One Discipline, Four Ways*, p.258.

research in the United States⁹⁴. Boas also represented the continuum between German and American anthropology. His approach to racial classification differed from the German model in which he was educated in, and from the typical American trends in racial studies of the early twentieth-century. His diffusion approach rendered that cultural, rather than biological diversity was the more accurate approach to classifying humans⁹⁵. In *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), he argued that diversity exists predominantly in cultural attributes and that racial classification was dismissive of the more substantial and complex historical experience which acts as the agent of diversification. He further attested that past racial classifications based on biological attributes were counter-intuitive to science and ethnocentric⁹⁶. During the interwar period, the United States developed an intellectual culture more independent from the 'Old World', but as Lars Rodseth elicits, 'yet even the largest networks thrive on personal ties and interactions'⁹⁷. Boas was key in keeping personal and alive the German legacy in American anthropological culture and his students continued to shape the discipline in the United States.

3.3.2 The United States and Britain: Anglo-Saxon Rivalry in the South China Sea

The achievement of the Anglo-Saxon hegemony during the late nineteenth to early twentieth-century had two rivals—the United States and Britain. The two entities were political equals and were bonded by kinship, shared history and most evidently, the sense of racial superiority that sets them apart from the rest of the world⁹⁸. The American liberation from the British monarchy theoretically moved the United States higher up the rung in the metaphorical

⁹⁴ Ibid. Also in George W. Stocking Jr. 'Bones, Bodies, Behavior', in *Bones, Bodies and Behavior: Essays on Biological History of Anthropology, Volume 5*, edited by George W. Stocking Jr.: 3-17 (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1988), pp.9-10.

⁹⁵ Ruth Benedict, 'Franz Boas', *Science*, New Series, vol. 97, no. 2507 (1943), pp.60-62.

⁹⁶ Ibid, pp.276-278.

⁹⁷ Lars Rodseth, 'Back to Boas: An Anthropological Model for the Ontological Turn', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 56, no. 6, (2015): 865-882, p.873.

⁹⁸ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions', pp.47-49

hierarchy known as Great Chain of Being⁹⁹. Alicia M. Gámez argues that this expression of the evolutionary transformation of the United States formed a basis to American sentiments of their destiny and racial ideologies¹⁰⁰. Paul Kramer further supports this: 'It did not help that U.S. imperialists themselves turned to European and especially British precedents for inspiration, guidance, and justification'¹⁰¹; he further stresses that 'Americans, like Anglo-Saxons, shared Britons' racial genius for empire-building, a genius that they must exercise for the greater glory of the "race" and to advance civilization in general'¹⁰². Britain and the United States were on equal footing on the position of Anglo-Saxon race in Southeast Asia¹⁰³. Rudyard Kipling's much-discussed poem '*The White Man's Burden*', that was composed in 1899 with a tone of encouragement to the United States to occupy the Philippines illustrated the feelings of cultural affinity and common goals¹⁰⁴.

However, there were attempts to nullify ideas of an American empire during the annexation of the Philippines. Anti-imperialists contested rationales to include the Philippines into the United States hegemony, which would consequently lead to granting Filipinos American citizenship¹⁰⁵. If the Americans embraced the Anglo-American sentiment, no matter how tactfully, it would impede any notion of controlling the Philippines was independent of any external factors. It would be, instead, an insinuation that British interest was taken into consideration, or of subtle controls from a former master and unsaid collaborations, to which the American memory did not recall with fondness¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁹ Alicia M. Gámez. 'Making American Nature: Scientific Narratives of Origin and Order in Visual and Literary Conceptions of Race in the Early American Republic'. (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1998), p.51

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, p.15.

¹⁰² Ibid, p.121. See also Cizel, 'Nation-Building in the Philippines', p.698.

¹⁰³ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions', p.45; Brogan, *Penguin History of the USA*, p.441.

¹⁰⁴ Rudyard Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden', *Congregationalists*, vol. 87, no. 7, (1899), 240. URL: <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/124183159?accountid=10673>.

¹⁰⁵ Harris, *God's Arbiters*, p.62-64.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, pp.132-148.

What Britain had in mind was tactical. A friendly United States would protect their economic relations with China in a region that was by the 1890s, controlled by three competing European powers¹⁰⁷. Britain aimed to subdue competition, but the rhetoric was lost. The formation of American rule in the Philippines had set aside any political association with Britain in Southeast Asia.

The partnership with Britain might have been removed from the agenda, but the Anglo-Saxon sentiments were often deployed to rationalise the annexation of the Philippines. The similarities drawn between the two actors provided validation for the United States as the 'newcomer' in imperialism to embrace their inevitable destiny to participate in the civilising mission. It entails that the possessors of liberal values were obliged to liberate others that were less fortunate¹⁰⁸. The United States was soon embroiled in a war with Filipino nationalists from 1898 to 1902¹⁰⁹, and with the Moros in the Moro Rebellion until 1913¹¹⁰. The circumstances into which the United States had initiated their rule over the Philippine received criticisms from Britain. John Foreman, a British writer who wrote *The Philippine Islands* (1899), claimed that the Americans were naïve and inexperienced, and the chaotic conditions in the Philippines served as evidence. Foreman's claims were repudiated by American ethnologist and administrator in the Philippines, Dr David Barrows (1873-1954), who wrote off that the United States was doing things independent of Britain's colonial experiences¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁷ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions', p.57

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ 'Pacification of the Philippines' *The Independent*, (Feb. 21, 1901), p.412; civil government was gradually implemented from 1901. See *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901*, p.399, p.483. URL: <https://archive.org/details/reportphilippin00worcgoog>.

¹¹⁰ Donna J. Amoroso, 'Inheriting the "Moro Problem": Muslim Authority and Colonial Rule in British Malaya and the Philippines' in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003): 118-147, pp.119.

¹¹¹ Though, at the initial stages of imperialism, the Philippines was seen as similar to British territories of India and Malaya. See Maximo M. Kalaw, *Self-Government in the Philippines* (New York: The Century Co. 1919), p. 18; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions', p.75.

Generally, Anglo-Saxonism defined the sense of affinity between the United States and Britain in the South China Sea. The United States were also well aware of potential criticisms against their claims to exceptionalism due to the imperial pursuit in the Philippines. Yet, it is undisputed that upon annexing the Philippines, the United States became part of the Southeast Asian network of colonial polities that were governing a largely Malay population. Britain, which preceded the United States in the colonialism of a Malay population, evoked the curiosity of an American officer who made enquiries at the colonial office in London in 1899. The officer, George T. Langhorne imparted the following in the *Report of the Philippine Commission 1904*:

In 1899, en route to the Philippines for the first time, I passed through London and went to the colonial office there, and among other things I asked the officials if they had any colony where the people were similar to those of these islands [The Philippines]. They then told me of the Malay states, and gave me the blue books, reports, etc., from those states. These were of much use in the associations I had with the Filipinos during my first tour in Luzon.¹¹²

Donna J. Amoroso argues that this reference suggested that Langhorne initially wanted to propose a 'Malaya model' for the Philippines to mirror the British administration in Malaya¹¹³. The Malays in the Federated Malay States consisted entirely of Muslims and were governed by a Sultanate system¹¹⁴. The British administered the Malays by an indirect rule, giving the sultans a degree of autonomy that were crucial in maintenance of order and in ensuring the loyalty of Malay subjects to British rule¹¹⁵. The Malays that were under American rule in the Philippines were divided among them by their religious

¹¹² *Report of the Philippine Commission 1904*, p.694. Langhorne's reference to the Malays states in 1899 came as part of his report on his travels to the Federated Malay States, Sarawak and Java in the year 1903-1904, in the report, see pp. 671-695.

¹¹³ Amoroso, 'Inheriting the "Moro Problem"', p.122.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp.120-122; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, p.217; for history of the Federated Malay States, see Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), pp. 184-186.

¹¹⁵ Also known as the residential system; discussed in Andaya and Andaya, *Malaysia*, pp. 174-177.

adherences and their historical experiences. The Malays in the Philippines consisted both the Christians and non-Christians, and which the non-Christians were categorised into pagans and Moros¹¹⁶. Each of these sub-categories of Malays were made even more distinct from one another, and from the Malays in British-Malaya, by their political systems. The Christian-Filipinos at the time were already working towards self-government under the guidance of the United States, and the second largest group of Malays in Mindanao and Sulu were led by Sultans until the last sultanate was liquidated in 1915¹¹⁷.

The most challenging regions for the American administration were Mindanao and Sulu, which were never wholly subjugated by Spain. They were still governed by sultans, who considered his people politically and culturally elusive from the rest of the Philippines¹¹⁸. The 'Malaya model', which if adopted would increase the degree of interdependency, especially on ethnological knowledge of the Malays, between the United States and Britain, was never implemented in the Philippines. This rejection symbolises the regression in British influence in American administration. Amoroso states that the policy of benevolent assimilation was contrary to the modus of an indirect rule applied in Malaya. The United States did not intend to govern the Philippines as a colony, but aimed to consolidate American position in Southeast Asia by incorporating the Philippines as an annex of American influence in the region. Filipinos had to be inculcated with the principles of democracy and equipped with knowledge of self-rule¹¹⁹. Therefore, all sub-categories of Malays were to adopt to these standards the United States bestowed as part of their direct rule approach and tutelage.

By 1918, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, Francis Burton Harrison (1873-1957), expressed that the unique relationship between the United

¹¹⁶ See Table 1-2 in Chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ Amoroso, 'Inheriting the "Moro Problem"', p. 119-122; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, p. 175.

¹¹⁸ Pute Rahimah Makol-Abdul, 'Colonialism and Change: The Case of Muslims in the Philippines', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 2, (1997), p.313.

¹¹⁹ President McKinley argued for tutelary government as justification for the annexation of the Philippines. See H. de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila, Cebu, Makati: Bookmark, 1965), pp.250-251.

States and the Philippines made it an example for the rest of Asia¹²⁰. Michael Adas suggests that the 'exceptional' mode of governance employed by the United States in the Philippines had promulgate its distinct position in juxtapose to the other imperial entities in the region¹²¹. The perceived success attained by the United States shifted the dynamic between its relations to the British in Malaya. The 'Malaya model' and its failure to sustain interactions between the two imperial actors owing to both the uniqueness of the Malay population in the Philippines and the features of American rule in the islands, consequently limited American connections with Britain in Southeast Asia.

3.4 Conclusion: Commitments and Regressions

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the multi-faceted interactions between imperial actors. I placed the Philippines at the centre of these interactions and argued that the chains of interactions had influenced the use of anthropological knowledge and racial classification in the Philippines. I have illustrated how imperial actors interacted on two premises: Anglo-Saxon sentiments and universal appeal of Darwinism. The premises were set, but not limited to the Philippines. The two phases—1860-1898 and 1898- 1905 marked the change in scientific methods and the increased collaboration between anthropologists and colonial administrators. However, these phases are not rigid, as changes discussed can fluidly run from one phase to another, or remain stagnant in several matters. Interactions were made through social institutions or scientific theories and methodology and reformed on the grounds of changing colonial agenda, or more commonly, a significant internal shift which took place within the boundaries of each imperial state. At times, the actors collaborated and were agreeable. At other times, the interactions illustrated disagreements.

A positive collaboration between imperial actors were critical to empire-building. This is exceptionally true for the United States. The United States came into the narrative as a new nation, ascending the ladder of political affluence by its expanding land and human resources. Having consolidated its

¹²⁰ Michael Adas, 'Improving on a Civilizing Mission? Assumptions of United States Exceptionalism in the Colonisation of the Philippines', *Itinerario*, vol. 22, no. 4, (1998): 44-66, p.48.

¹²¹ Ibid.

hold in North America, United States commenced its overseas colonial agenda. In the beginning, the United States had looked to Germany and Britain for intellectual support and even precariously cooperated with Spain for trade in the Caribbean. The decision to react to the bombing of *USS Maine* in 1898 and subsequently annexe the Philippines signalled declining cooperation. This does not discount the significance of Spanish colonial legacies in forms of documentation of the Filipinos that had helped the American administration in the formative years of its occupation of the Philippines. There were stark differences between what the Spanish and Americans may regard as colonial agenda. Cabán had rightly pointed out, that to the Americans, tutelage and political enfranchisement was preferred to long-term occupation¹²².

The collaborations between imperial actors meant that there were possibilities for anthropologists to research outside of their national and colonial borders. This was especially true of the Germans and the Americans who ventured to the Philippines before the end of Spanish rule to engage in studies in botany and ethnology. What was significant about these interactions was the effort to unify and standardise myriad peoples under colonial control. Spanish rule in the Philippines did not only set the fundamental principles of how the Filipinos were categorised, but it is important to note how Spanish presence in the Philippines had allowed for the possibility of anthropological studies to be undertaken and racial classification to comprise religious and scientific elements.

There were many instances of clashes, conflicts and regressed interactions between imperial actors. Spain and Germany had a symbiotic relationship which was eventually challenged by the accumulation of data which Germany obtained with regards to the Philippines while it was still under Spanish domain. There was a sense of potential threat which Germans could muster with such a wealth of data. After 1871, Germany was also unified under the Prussian empire, and through gradual commercial monopoly, subjugated New Guinea. Support from the Filipino elite nationalist group further aggravated the

¹²² Cabán, *Constructing Colonial People*, p.83. Also refer to Jacob G. Schurman, featured in de la Costa's *Reading in Philippine History*, p.257, to which the former commissioner wrote: '...but as all Filipinos favor eventual independence, the majority, it may be predicted with safety, will embrace the policy which leads most quickly to that goal.'

situation. Spain risked losing the Philippines because of its lack of control over information on its colony. The trust given to Germany by the Filipino was not political, but intellectual. Filipinos believed Germany could offer assistantship to the nationalists' struggle by rebuking a dominating racial vector which had held them back for many years¹²³.

Germany regressed as an influence after the Treaty of Paris in 1898, and the United States stepped into the narrative. Filipinos were agitating for independence, a dream that was crushed as it merely passed hands from one form of racially motivated colonial entity to another. From 1898 to 1902, the United States engaged in a bitter, expensive and violent war to pacify the Filipino insurgents¹²⁴. Germany did not hold sway over the masses, and in that context, their significance might be disputed. The intellectual rigour of men like Blumentritt, who used his authority in speaking on behalf of the Filipinos had used anthropology and race as an argument to criticise annexation. The United States had racial warfare at home and abroad. As Blumentritt had argued, there would be no peace as long as white supremacy had a hold over the American administration of the Philippines¹²⁵.

The American administration had to consolidate their position in the Philippines. The United States made a serious effort to highlight Spanish failure to educate the Filipinos by sending a message to the Filipinos that the Americans were not as tyrannical as Spain and were deserving of Filipino support. Aggressively, the United States used scientific patronage and education platform to highlight the benevolence of the American occupation and downplayed Spanish contribution to the Philippines. The United States and Germany had a history of cooperation regarding education and scientific research, and Germany was not a threat to the United States after the Treaty of Paris¹²⁶. There were equally instances of dependency from which the

¹²³ Weston, 'Scientific Authority', p.5.

¹²⁴ Harris, *God's Arbiters*, p.150.

¹²⁵ 'How they can invoke, with the idea of annexation, the mission of civilization of the United States, I really do not understand', from Blumentritt, 'America and the Philippines', p.3.

¹²⁶ 'Germany not Unfriendly: Recent Communications Dispel All Doubt as to Her Neutrality' in the *New York Times*, (July 21, 1898), p.7. URL: <https://search-proquest->

universality of science and administrative needs overcame the need to demoralise a nemesis politically. This is seen in the use of Spanish sources by the American administrators.

Beyond the Philippines' borders, the United States and Britain were bound by Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and their mutual goal to civilise the natives in their respective imperial domain in Southeast Asia. It was the recognition of similarities between Malays in the Philippines and Malaya that suggested a regression of interactions. It can be surmised that the case of the 'Malaya model' was a premise for Anglo-Saxon imperial actors to assert dominance over the Malays as colonial subjects. Yet, in this case, Malaya and the Philippines had only racial composition in common. The Malays in the Philippines were religiously and culturally more diverse. They were also divided into Christians and non-Christians, hence adding to the disparity with the Malays in Malaya. Not to mention, there was a hierarchy in the Philippines that delineated the two groups into which Malays were split into. This made the category 'Malay' a less efficient variable with which to govern the Filipinos, and the United States focus on creating policies that were aligned with the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy.

It was not sense of racial superiority, in this instant, that motivated the Americans to employ a mode of governance different from Britain in Malaya, but colonial aspirations. Britain ruled Malaya as part of a global empire and had to apply indirect rule in order to appease to the natives and adjust to the local political climate. The United States however, adhered to the principles of isolationism and exceptionalism from the imperialism understood and practiced by European countries. To the American administration, the Philippines was a tutelary project, an opportunity for the United States to exercise control as means to guide the Filipinos to be able to form their own government in the future. Britain in Malaya at the turn of the twentieth century made no such declaration, and that set it apart from the American civil government in the Philippines. Britain and the United States, while did openly declared racial affinities, had their relationship strained due to contrasting principles of imperialism and governance. Despite obvious competition, interactions and interdependencies between imperial entities were inevitable. The spread of scientific knowledge transpired political boundaries, and the

Philippines, as an arena of ethnological intrigues, had allowed collaborations between imperial actors to take place. Institutional interactions manifests on a local level, bringing together the universality found in the imperial network and the nuances of specific place and people. In the following chapter, I will narrow down the implications of the interactions between American institutions that administered the Philippines.

CHAPTER 4: AGENTS OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION: THE BUREAU OF NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES AND THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT, 1898-1946

4.1 Introduction

In 1903, under Act No. 514, the Philippine Commission formed an exposition board to oversee the creation of a Philippine Exhibition at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition that was to be held in the following year at St. Louis, Missouri. The board purchased a large plot situated within the exposition's thirty-five hectares' site to display Filipinos cultures and its agricultural and industrial products. The highlight of the exhibition was the ethnological component, in which various tribal groups in the Philippines were gathered to display their habits and customs. Families from ten tribes recognised as constituting the wild tribes or non-Christian members of the Philippines population were selected to be placed at the designated area for the Philippine Exhibit and 'carrying on their vocations and other amusements and customs'¹.

Among the board members were William P. Wilson, the director of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Señor Pedro A. Paterno who directed the Philippine exhibit in an exposition in Madrid, and Filipino scientist, Señor Leon M. Guerrero². Other working committees included BNCT's anthropologists, David Barrows and assistant director, Albert Jenks. Aside from the ethnological exhibits, the exposition also featured the Philippine Scouts and four companies of Philippine soldiers. About thirty to fifty Hispanicised and educated Filipinos were brought to partake in a tour of cities around the United States during the duration of the exhibition in spring of 1904. American geologist and anthropologist William J. McGee, remarked in awe of the Philippine exhibit, stating that it was 'one of the most impressive exhibits of alien life and customs ever assembled'³.

¹ W. B. Stevens, 'The Louisiana Purchase Exposition', *The Independent*, vol. 55, no. 2840 (1903), p.1086.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission 1906*, p.519. *Carta Circular del Gobernador Taft* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), pp.3-8

³ W.J. McGee, 'Anthropology at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition', *Science*, vol. 22, no. 573 (1905), p.811.

The assemblage of Filipinos from different backgrounds and tribes was placed at St. Louis with a clear purpose of depicting a successful American tutelary project. Civil governor of the Philippine Islands, William Cameron Forbes acknowledged it as an effort 'to bringing two peoples nearer together and to showing the intelligent Filipinos what our country is and what our institutions mean'⁴. What the Philippine Exhibition managed to achieve had indeed brought two peoples together, but it was not in a way Governor Forbes had anticipated. While the presence of the exotic and the elusive may have enticed visitors to the exhibition, it failed to convince the American public that there was any successful assimilation of the Filipinos. The striking differences between the Christian and the non-Christian Filipinos received strong criticisms and derision from the public. The vestige of Filipino life, encapsulated in 'primitive' villages that were on display at the exposition provoked questions on the relevance of American occupation of the Philippines⁵. The Christian Filipinos felt equally cheated; the exposition had divulged and over-emphasised on the less 'civilised' aspect of the Philippines and had marred the reputation and achievements of the educated and enlightened class⁶. The display of the 'primitive' at the exposition, corroborated with the American declaration of tutelage and assimilation revealed the differing perceptions amongst the administrators on the distinctions between the population of the Philippines. Essentially, Filipinos were categorised to be either Christians/civilised, and non-Christians/ 'wild tribes'. The dichotomisation of the population did not develop from mere prejudice or racial bias. Instead, as I will argue in this chapter, it resulted from a collage of historical and scientific views on race applied to the ethnological complexities of the Filipinos.

The United States civil government in the Philippines had to adopt practical solutions in order to cater to the disparate needs and demands of the two clusters of the population. The outcome was the creation of the Bureau of non-Christian Tribes or the BNCT, which aimed at carrying out surveys in order to create a repository of data on the non-Christian population, often considered the group more resistant to

⁴ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903* (Washington: Bureau of Print, 1904), p.520.

⁵ Paul A. Kramer, 'Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905', *Radical History Review*, vol. 73, no. 114, (1999): 74-114, pp.101-102.

⁶ Ibid, p.105. Also refer to Beverly Grindstaff, 'Creating Identity: Exhibiting the Philippines at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition', *National Identities*, vol. 1, no. 3, (1999): 245-263, p.249.

assimilation. The BNCT was created with similar aims as its parallel institution in the United States, the BAE. Both bureaux were founded to study the colonised, 'primitive' peoples that were under American rule. The comparison between these two bureaux in this chapter will explain features of continuity and discontinuity of the American anthropological institution in the classification of colonised subjects. The administrative policies did not end with the BNCT. Consequently, education, healthcare and provincial administrations were adjusted to suit the different requirements the administrators judged most suitable for the non-Christians. The Philippine Exhibit at the exposition in 1904, and the founding of a museum to accommodate ethnological artefacts collected from various non-Christian tribes augmented the perception of racial divide and at times, pejorative views of non-Christians tribes' 'primitiveness'.

This chapter looks into the application of anthropological knowledge and American administration of the Philippines by analysing the methods and theories adopted by the BNCT in dealing with the various non-Christian communities in the Philippines. The fundamental role of this chapter is to illustrate how these various institutions of the American administration in the Philippines worked interdependently with one another. Substantiated with the ideas and sentiments that circulated the imperial network, the institutional collaboration in the Philippines signifies the continuity and change of a scientific understanding of race and racial taxonomy when it is applied within a specific locality. Additionally, this chapter looks at how American institutions interacted to sustain—directly or indirectly— the racial taxonomy. In the first part of this chapter, I will compare the BNCT with the BAE before proceeding to look into the particulars of research approaches employed by the BNCT in the Philippines. In the second part of the chapter, I will focus on the implications of the anthropological knowledge established and consolidated by the American administration. Phrasing it as 'taxonomy in action', I construct my arguments around the policies that were executed by the various bureaux in the American civil government which had reflected, adopted and efficiently perpetuated the racial divide between Christians and non-Christians.

4.2 The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes/ the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands

4.2.1 Background and History

The BNCT was the principal racial classificatory agency in the American administration and the leading actor in applying the scientific theoretical modules in the organisation of the Filipino population. The BNCT was founded through Act No. 253 of the Philippine Commission on the 2nd of October, 1901, under the authority of the Department of Interior. The establishment of the BNCT were entwined with the personalities who saw the need and advocated for ethnological work in the islands, particularly that of Dean Worcester, the first Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines for the American civil government⁷. Worcester, who alone in the commission had any experience of engaging in some form of ethnological studies in the Philippines prior to the occupation, felt that the American administration could benefit by learning more about the natives, specifically the non-Christians⁸. He concluded in his first report to the President of the United States: 'There is a present lamentable lack of accurate information as to the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines'⁹. He went on to declare the relevance of an establishment of a bureau specifically to study the non-Christian population:

It is evident that if we are not to fail in our duty toward the savage of half-civilized Philippine peoples, active measures must be taken for the gathering of reliable information concerning them as a basis for legislation, and an act has therefore been passed to the commission creating the Bureau of non-Christian Tribes.¹⁰

⁷ As explained in Chapter 1, the commissions were sent to the Philippines by the President of the United States in order to conduct an investigation on the unrest during the Filipino-American war and to form a civil government. See Kramer, *Blood of Government*, pp.179-180; Rodney J. Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism: The Philippine Career of Dean C. Worcester* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1991), p.142; Mary Jane B. Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau: The Politics of Cultural Investigation of the non-Christian Filipinos', *Social Science Diliman*, vol. 6, no.1, (2010): 1-27, p.5.

⁸ See Chapter 3 for discussion on Worcester's participation in the Steere Expedition in 1876 and Menage Expedition in 1890; see Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.47-48.

⁹ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.160.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.162.

Worcester's conviction that the Filipinos needed protection and enlightenment came from his religious New England background. Son of a country doctor, he was known among the civil servants and officials in the Philippines as a principled and rigid man. During his tenure as Secretary of Interior from 1901 to 1913, Worcester did not conceal his opinions on the Filipinos. His personal views were in line with the Anglo-Saxon ideals of the era— that they were to be monitored and guided¹¹. But his utmost concern was on the well-being of the non-Christian tribes. Through his observations during the Menage expedition (1890-1893), he became familiar with the power dynamics between the Spanish authorities, the Christians and the other non-Christian Filipinos, and felt that the non-Christians were susceptible to oppression from what he saw was the opportunistic civilised majority¹². The consequence of these stays on the islands had a profound influence on his policies as commissioner for both commissions, and Secretary of the Interior in years to come¹³.

Worcester personally selected the bureau's first director. David Barrows, a professor of anthropology from the University of California, and former Superintendent of Schools for the civil government was given the mandate to conduct a thorough investigation of the non-Christian tribes¹⁴. Worcester and Barrows shared many ideas on how to govern the Philippines and harbored similar fascination with the various biological and cultural attributes of the islands' population. Barrows was enthusiastic and firmly believed in the sincerity of the benevolent assimilation, including educating the Filipinos on 'Anglo-Saxon ideals'¹⁵. The common vision

¹¹ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, p. 163.

¹² Karl L. Hutterer, 'Dean C. Worcester and Philippine Anthropology', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 26, no. 1/2, SPECIAL ISSUE: COMMEMORATING OUR FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS (1973-1998) SELECTED PAPERS (March/June 1998): 33-64, pp.38-39. On Worcester preference for non-Christian peoples also see Mark Rice, *Dean Worcester's Fantasy Islands: Photography, Film, and the Colonial Philippines* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp.2-5 and Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.180-183.

¹³ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.183.

¹⁴ Kenton J. Clymer, 'Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man's Burden in the Philippines', *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 45, no. 5, (1976): 495-517, p.499.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

shared by Barrows and Worcester made Barrows' appointment a logical choice. Barrows was also the right candidate by virtue of his education. He obtained his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1897¹⁶, and his dissertation on Cahuilla Indians show-cased his knowledge and skills in anthropological research¹⁷. In 1901, Barrows published a booklet containing detailed instructions for an ethnological data collection entitled *Bureau of non-Christian Tribes for the Philippines Islands: Circular of Information, Instruction for Volunteer Fieldworkers*¹⁸. The instructions included a list of items which fieldworkers must attain from the tribes they were studying, including the nomenclatures with which the tribes were known by, their physical characteristics, including skin colour and craniometrics, the decorum of tribal membership, such as tattoos and jewellery, and geographical features of the settlements¹⁹. Barrows recruited volunteer fieldworkers who consisted mainly of the teachers and provincial officers stationed all over the country, and extended the invitations for field work to Filipinos and US Army Navy officers in the Philippines.

A survey ensued, and from the years 1901 to 1903, extensive collections of ethnological data were compiled. The BNCT was revised in 1903 to become the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands²⁰. The BNCT changed directorship in the same year to Jenks, former assistant chief to Barrows. Jenks continued carrying out the ethnological surveys and assisted in organising for the before mentioned exhibition of the Philippines at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. After St. Louis, the bureau faced a challenge to its relevance. The main arguments against its projects were that it draws out funds that the commissioners saw would have been more suited for scientific studies that were under the Bureau of Science²¹. BNCT was

¹⁶ 'David Prescott Barrows', *The Journal of Education*, vol. 71, no. 1, (1910), p.8.

¹⁷ Clymer, 'Humanitarian Imperialism', p.499.

¹⁸ Published in Manila, by the Bureau of Printing.

¹⁹ Ibid, pp.12-14.

²⁰ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.6. I will continue to use BNCT in reference to the same institution.

²¹ Among the research undertaken by the Bureau of Science was on geology, agriculture and pathology. Anderson argues that the emphasis on Bureau of Science was due to the Americans' interest to familiarise themselves with the economic potential of the islands, and to equip the colonisers with knowledge of pathogens that could potentially harm them. See Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines', pp.301-303. While the BNCT did operate as a scientific institution, the subject matter, while not explicitly expressed, was considered

reorganised as the Division of Ethnology and became part of the Bureau of Education on October 1905²². The division was led by Dr Merton L. Miller, who continued with works on the survey of his predecessors.

Due to these changes, the number of ethnological surveys declined in 1906. Reports concerning ethnological matters in the annually submitted *Reports of the Philippine Commission* were almost non-existent; the exception was a short paragraph on a three-day anthropological conference in Manila which took place from 11th to 13th May 1908. The conference was attended by Barrows and his former mentor, Professor Frederick W. Starr²³. The ethnological surveys were further challenged by the resignation of Worcester as Secretary of Interior. Worcester remained in office despite his wavering influence among the officers in Manila, and resigned officially on June 1913²⁴. Worcester was one of the stalwart champions for the systematic and scientific racial classification of the Filipinos. His ideals of American tutelage and patronage influenced the creation of different public policies for each racial class²⁵. Meanwhile, Barrows resigned from an anthropological position much earlier on, but he remained in the Philippines as the Director of Education until 1910, before taking a professorship in education at the University of California Berkeley and served as the university's president from 1919 to 1923²⁶. The departure of Worcester and Barrows from civil service affected the systematic anthropological works in the Philippines. These developments meant that BNCT projects under Barrow's leadership and Worcester's advocacy could no longer be sustained in the light of the government's reorganisation and budget limitation.

secondary to the well-being of the colonial administration. This view, of course, did not represent the entire commission, and certainly not Worcester's. See Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.89-90. For Bureau of Science operations, see Paul C. Freer, 'The Bureau of Government Laboratory for the Philippine Islands, and Scientific Positions Under it.', *Science*, New Series, vol. 16, no. 406, (October 10, 1902): 579-580.

²² *Report of the Philippine Commission 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p.337.

²³ *Report of the Philippine Commission 1908* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 835.

²⁴ Hutterer, 'Dean Worcester', p.42.

²⁵ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, p. 89.

²⁶ Anson S. Blake, 'David Prescott Barrows', *California Historical Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4, (1954), p. 371.

The research and publication of the BNCT was not only an essential ethnological source, but it was a mechanism for colonial propaganda. The display of rough, 'backward' natives indicated that proper tutelage was called for, while the educated, urbanised *ilustrados* represented a group that were vital in augmenting American colonial agendas in Southeast Asia. After years of stagnancy on government-endorsed ethnological activities, Governor General Harrison wrote in the commission's annual report of 1914, 'Research work of an ethnological nature or interest solely to the scientific world should be undertaken and conducted by private enterprise rather than government agency'²⁷. The need to gather ethnological data was then seen as a more academic pursuit rather than an administrative necessity.

The decline of the ethnological surveys and research activities of the bureau coincided with the Philippines' active negotiations for independence from the United States. In 1916, the Congress of the United States approved the Jones Act to concede that the United States would 'withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as an independent government can be established therein'²⁸. The BNCT was resuscitated in 1916 as part of the provision of the Jones Act with a specific instruction to:

...bring about a complete and permanent amalgamation of the Christian, and the non-Christian, and pagan peoples of the Philippine Islands. That the Jones Law...should provide for the organization of the bureau to have general supervision over the public affairs of the non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines is evidence of the unequivocal desire on the part of the Congress of the United States to have the assurance that these elements of our population will be properly taken care of under an autonomous Philippine Government.²⁹

The non-Christian presented a problem to the Philippines' independence agenda. Barrows summarised the problem below:

²⁷ *Report of the Philippine Commission 1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p.42.

²⁸ 'Jones Law of 1916', *Official Gazette, the Government of the Philippine Islands*, (29th August 1916). Accessed on 3rd August 2016. URL: <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/the-jones-law-of-1916/>

²⁹ Jose G. Sanvictores, 'Our non-Christian Peoples', (1916), p.1. PP MS 26/2/5 Files 36-38. Ifor B. Powell Collection. SOAS Special Collection.

The events of recent years, the revolution against Spain, the insurrection against American authority, and especially the efforts of the government to unite the Filipinos by education in a common language and by training under common liberal institution have gone far toward making the ten or eleven distinct Christian peoples a single nation. But the pagan peoples form an unassimilated stock, and between Christian and Moro persists the enmity left by centuries of piracy and war.³⁰

In 1916, the newly appointed director of the reformed BNCT, a Filipino by the name of Jose G. Sanvictores identified two problems that were posed by the non-Christian population. First, provinces with a majority of the non-Christian population had a high crime rate. Second, many of the non-Christians had yet to register as taxpayers³¹. Thus, the BNCT, with refreshed, nationalistic goals would attempt to remedy the developmental issues among the non-Christian population, but not by undertaking ethnological researches³².

After 1916, many of the anthropological works in the country were continued by the University of Philippines, led by the Professor H. Otley Beyer. Beyer's first exposure to the Philippines began in 1904 at the St. Louis Exposition. Having just recently obtained his M.A. in chemistry and geology from the University of Denver, he visited the Philippine Exhibit and was intrigued³³. Beyer then applied for a timely opening for an anthropologist at the BNCT. Despite him lacking any formal qualification for the position, he was selected but unfortunately, a reorganisation in the civil government

³⁰ David Prescott Barrows, *Decade of American Government in the Philippines, 1903-1914* (Yonkers-On-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1914), p. 73. URL: <https://archive.org/details/adecadeamerican00barrgoog/page/n10>. Accessed 23rd August 2018.

³¹ Sanvictores, 'Our non-Christian Peoples', p.3, pp.5-6.

³² Throughout its most active period, the bureau published many papers, among them Otto Scheerer's *Nabaloi Dialect*, E. Y. Miller *The Bataks of Palawan* and *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* by Dr Najeeb M. Saleeby all in 1906, as well as Emerson B. Christie's *Subanus of Mindanao* and John M. Gawan's *Manobos, Mandayas and Other Wild People of the Agusan River Valley* in 1910; from the *Report of the Philippine Commission 1906*, p.346 and *Report of the Philippine Commission 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p.113.

³³ Wilhelm G. Solheim II, 'H. Otley Beyer', *Asian Perspectives*, vol.12, (1969): 1-18, p.2.

meant that upon his arrival in Manila in 1905 the post that was promised to him was annulled. BNCT was absorbed into the Bureau of Education that was headed by David Barrows, former director of BNCT. Barrows instructed Beyer to continue a covert ethnological survey under the guise of a teacher³⁴. From 1905 to 1908 Beyer was a teacher and an ethnologist working with communities in the Northern Luzon. Since Beyer never had any formal training in anthropology, he left the Philippines in 1908 and pursued his graduate studies in anthropology at Harvard until 1910. In 1914, he was offered a chair in anthropology at the University of Philippines³⁵.

In 1917, Beyer published a survey, *The Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*. Instead of volunteer teachers and armed personnel, Beyer employed his students to gather ethnological data for the survey. It was Beyer who ensured that anthropology, particularly classifications of the racial groups in the Philippines remained as a critical research subject. Beyer was also responsible for the pioneering archaeological works in the country. In a series of correspondence with his colleague from the University of Cardiff, Ifor B. Powell, Beyer expressed how his recent excavation at Batangas province may be vital in understanding the pre-historic origins of the Philippines peoples³⁶. Beyer founded numerous projects supporting archaeology and anthropology in the Philippines³⁷.

³⁴ Ibid. This 'covert' operation was undertaken with Merton H. Miller, the chief of the ethnological division under the Bureau of Education.

³⁵ Ibid, pp.2-3. See also Mario D. Zamora, 'Henry Otley Beyer, 1883-1966', *American Anthropologist*, June 1974, 76 (2), pp.361-362.

³⁶ H. Otley Beyer to Ifor B. Powell, 20th July 1935. PPMS 26/1/2. Files 1-4. Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

³⁷ Beyer to Powell, 12th December 1953. PP.MS 26/1/2. Files 1-4. Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections. Beyer informed Powell of the attendees to the 8th Pacific Science Congress, many of which were anthropologists and archaeologists. See also Zamora, 'Henry Otley Beyer', pp. 361-362.

4.2.2 The Bureau of American Ethnology and the BNCT

Institutionalisation of an ethnological bureau for the purpose of consolidating data on the population in a colonised territory predicates the continuities between the BNCT in the Philippines and the BAE in the United States. Here, the link between institutions in the American administration extends beyond the Philippines, demonstrating the interactions between Washington and Manila. It can be argued that American anthropological knowledge came to the Philippines through the policies of the American administration in the islands. The BAE, while have not been mentioned explicitly in any BNCT documents, had similar goals and objectives as the BNCT, and was fundamental to the formation of American ethnological studies in the Philippines. The following discussion looks into the overlapping characteristics and differences between the two bureaux in terms of their goals and operations in two separate geographical settings.

The Bureau of Ethnology was founded in 1879 as part of the Smithsonian Institute. Bureau of Ethnology added 'American' to its name in 1894 and went to become a central agency in support of the professionalisation of anthropology in the United States³⁸. From 1867 to 1874, its founder John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) led the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Powell was instructed by the government to map and record the land and the Native Americans inhabiting the Colorado Plateau³⁹, but the pragmatism of science in North America during the 19th century meant that there was a pressure to question the relevance and, inevitably, the expenditure of the surveys. Powell insisted that the surveys were crucial to the general development of scientific practice, and assured the Congress that a government-backed scientific project would be more pragmatic and democratic than a pursuit of an individual scientist. After the surveys were consolidated, Powell founded the BAE and became its first director⁴⁰.

³⁸ Regna Darnell, *And Along Came Boas: Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publication, 1998), pp.24-25; Franz Boas, 'The Bureau of American Ethnology', *Science*, vol. 16, no. 412 (21st November 1902), p.828.

³⁹ Ibid, pp.24-25. Also see Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, 'The Rise and Fall of the Bureau of American Ethnology', *Journal of the Southwest*, vol. 41, no.3, (1999): 283-296

⁴⁰ Woodbury and Woodbury, 'Rise and Fall', p.284; Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, pp.40-41.

The most striking form of continuity from the BAE to the BNCT was their main operational goal. These institutions were created to unscramble the medley of tribal or racial identities among the subjugated population that came under the American administration. This entailed conducting large surveys with the aims of acquiring specific phenotypical, linguistic and cultural data of each tribe and forming racial taxonomies. These bureaux were faced with the challenge of subduing and managing a population that was on many levels, culturally complex and distinct from their own. In order to successfully manage these differences, the government had to rely on science as an explanatory agency which served the legislative and executive bodies.

Worcester's main concerns were with the state of the non-Christian tribes and how a gathering of comprehensive ethnological data could ensure the implementation of appropriate legislative measures⁴¹. He also expressed in the commission's report some of the problems he felt were persistent among the non-Christian tribes, 'Their presence and the existence among them of head-hunting, slave hunting, polygamy, and other objectionable practices create serious problems for the insular government.'⁴² The intention to curb 'primitive practices is also clearly apparent in the BAE's objectives:

Ethnologic inquiry began many years ago. Throughout the civilized world men of research engaged in the study of tribal man. Their inquiries were directed mainly toward the definition of races in terms of such characteristics. Much work of this kind was done, and a great body of useful data pertaining to tribal men was accumulated. When this Bureau was instituted in 1879, the primary purpose contemplated by statesmen was the practical definition of tribes in such terms as to guide officials engaged in grouping the Indian on reservations...⁴³

⁴¹ *Reports of the Philippines Commission 1901-1903*, p.162.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 366.

⁴³ J.W. Powell, 'Introduction', in the *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, no. 17 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. xxvii. URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k276252/f27.image.r=Bureau%20of%20American%20Ethnology>, accessed 3rd January 2017.

Powell's report delineates the main functions of the bureau. The aims to study and classify Native American tribes, and to help the administration in organising the Indian reservations were listed as top priorities. This is similar to the objectives of the BNCT. The BAE's investigative functions were part and parcel of American expansion westward, while the BNCT extended the inquiries into 'primitive' peoples to territories beyond the jurisdiction of the BAE⁴⁴. By focusing on gathering ethnological data, both institutions ensured that anthropology was relevant to the administration⁴⁵.

Methodologically, the BAE and the BNCT both supported the use of large-scale surveys and fieldworks. These activities were tied to a set of questions that sought specific details on the physical characteristics, socioeconomic activities, institutions and geographical location of each tribe⁴⁶. However, the BAE limited its interest to the Native Americans. To Powell, the pursuit of the anthropological research must not be merely to produce ethnological reports, but to assist the government in 'rational social planning'⁴⁷. Fieldworks are the highlights of the bureau's annual reports. Powell explained in the introduction of the reports, which resonated in every volume published during his tenure as director, the following:

Researches among the North American Indians, as directed by the act of Congress, have been diligently prosecuted during the fiscal year 1881-82...The work of the Bureau during the year may be conveniently divided into (1) Publications, (2) Field work, (3) Office work.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, p.10 and p.43.

⁴⁵ Paul Kramer, 'Jim Crow Science and the "Negro Problem" in the Occupied Philippines, 1898-1914', in *Race Consciousness: Reinterpretation for the New Century*, edited by Judith Johnson Fossett and Jeffrey A. Tucker (New York: NYU Press, 1997): 227-246, p.232. See also, Patterson, *A Social History*, p.38.

⁴⁶ See 'Theories and Methods of BNCT Research' in this chapter for elaborations and examples. Also refer to Patterson, op. cit.

⁴⁷ Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, p.26.

⁴⁸ J.W. Powell, 'Introductory', *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, no. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. xiii.

The surveys were justified as a practical solution in order to not isolate any tribes from being included in the archive of ethnological data, thus allowing the bureau to equip policy-makers with information of every known tribe in North America. The surveys additionally enabled the bureau to engage in vast empirical research that Powell felt were needed to optimise the standards of scientific practice in American anthropology⁴⁹. W. H. Holmes (1846-1933), Powell's successor in the directorship of the BAE made commendable comments on Powell's surveys and fieldworks:

While the museum staff during the past 50 years was gradually accumulating, studying, and installing the collections, field researches conducted by Government experts in various branches were actively adding new material and massing besides a great body of information relative to the tribes and their culture, present and past. Major Powell began his epoch-making studies among the tribes of the arid region in the late sixties, and the succeeding half century witnessed the gradual building up of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which has done so much toward placing on record the present and past of the northern aborigines.⁵⁰

Likewise, the BNCT was founded to gather data on the non-Christian Filipinos. Acquiring data on the non-Christians was crucial to complete colonisation. Worcester himself had expressed the significance of the non-Christian population in the same report: 'Many of the tribes are numerically insignificant. Not quite a few are numerous and powerful.'⁵¹ Only the Moros was regarded by Worcester as a threat to the stability of the colonial government: 'The Moro tribes of southern Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and southern Palawan, are the only ones among these non-Christian peoples who could afford any serious menace to public order or the peace of any importance to the archipelago'⁵². Gathering data on the tribes, assured Worcester, was a necessary step to take in securing colonial administration⁵³.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.73.

⁵⁰ W.H. Holmes, *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities, Part I, Introductory the lithic industries* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. xv. URL: <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32254207z>, accessed 3rd January 2017.

⁵¹ Ibid, p.161.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.162.

Nevertheless, the BAE and the BNCT differed in the prioritised criteria for classification. Powell believed that language was the critical element which formed the basis for classification. Powell observed that in reservations, it was language which brought individuals from these communities together⁵⁴. The emphasis on linguistic is apparent in the extract from the bureau's annual report:

As was explained in the First Annual Report, prime importance is attached to linguistic researches. Without fundamental knowledge of those languages which can still be successfully studied, all other anthropologic peculiarities of the tribes speaking them will be imperfectly understood.⁵⁵

Barrows had from early on established that the population of the Philippines with the exception of Negritos, were mainly of 'Malayan' origin⁵⁶. Far from simplifying an ethnologically complex group of peoples, Barrows observed that linguistically, there were overwhelming similarities between each group which all came from a common Malay root. Barrows argued that due to the presence of many small, fragmented political units, it was easy to dismiss that there were substantial mutual linguistic and cultural attributes between different tribes. He further contrasted the Malays with the Native American tribes, which to him, were more sophisticated by way of their ability to form confederacies⁵⁷. In the fieldworkers' ten-point guideline, Barrows highlighted phenotypes and cultural artefacts as the main classifying criteria⁵⁸. He also did not dismiss inquiries into the linguistic propensities of each tribe. In the *Circular* Barrows wrote: 'It is desirable as soon as possible to obtain a small vocabulary from many different tribes for comparative purpose.'⁵⁹ While Barrows did not eliminate language as a crucial element to classify the population, he did not emphasise it either.

⁵⁴ Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, pp.38-40; Woodbury and Woodbury, 'Rise and Fall', pp.287-288.

⁵⁵ Powell in *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute*, no.2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. xx. URL: <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb37575968z>, accessed 3rd January 2017.

⁵⁶ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p.411 and p. 453; Barrows, *Circular*, p.4.

⁵⁷ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p. 453.

⁵⁸ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', pp. 9-10.

⁵⁹ Barrows, *Circular*, p.13.

The development of the BAE and the BNCT as research-based scientific institutions offer another aspect to which they differed. It equally opens up an enquiry into the sustainability of a colonial institution at the metropole vis-à-vis a similar establishment in the periphery. Over the years, both institutions' core objectives were revised, and their functions have changed. The main factor was undoubtedly to meet the need of the locality of which it served and adjusted by the personality that led it. In the United States, BAE's autonomy, which it had greatly enjoyed under Powell's leadership, was finally subjected to the control of the Smithsonian Institute when Holmes was appointed as the new 'Chief' in 1889⁶⁰. Unlike Powell, Holmes complied to political demands and was not interested in maintaining BAE's position as an institution which consolidated and monitored all theoretical developments of anthropology in the United States. Powell had made the BAE influential setting the standards of ethnographic research and standardised the linguistic scheme of classification. Under Holmes, the BAE was limited to becoming a government agency which more stringently reflected the goal of its formation, that was to observe and gather ethnological data of the Native Americans⁶¹. The BAE was absorbed into the National Museum in 1970, where it now resides as a department⁶².

Meanwhile, BNCT began to waver as a key institution for anthropological studies in the Philippines after the resignation of Worcester as Secretary of Interior. Worcester's policy which encouraged an extensive study of non-Christian tribes was severely challenged by the eventual introduction of the Jones Law in 1916⁶³. From 1916 onwards, BNCT functioned as a bureau dedicated to narrow the socio-economic gap between the Christians and non-Christians, and it no longer conducted surveys for ethnological purposes. Thereupon, the University of Philippines continued as the central institution for anthropology in the Philippines and expanded the responsibilities from research to the training of future

⁶⁰ Holmes preferred the title 'Chief' rather than 'Director', and had refused the allowance for his position in the bureau. See Woodbury and Woodbury, 'Rise and Fall', p.288.

⁶¹ Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, pp.94-95; Woodbury and Woodbury, 'Rise and Fall', pp. 288-290; Boas, 'The Bureau of American Ethnology', p.829.

⁶² Woodbury and Woodbury, 'Rise and Fall', p. 293.

⁶³ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, p.183.

anthropologists of the country⁶⁴. Each of this institution existed to serve specific colonial objectives, but unlike the BAE, BNCT regressed as a research institution and adjusted itself to serve the need of the Philippines at the time—nation- building. The social reconstruction became the objective of the BNCT after 1916, and consequently replaced its former role of surveying and classifying the non-Christian tribes.

As an institution that promoted anthropological studies in the United States, and ensured standardisation of methods for research by its members, the BAE was substantially influential to theoretical and methodological development of the BNCT. Equally, the altered focus and preferred methods adopted by BNCT demonstrate the possibilities of how different space and subjects can compromise the principles of a nucleus organisation in the colonial metropole such as the BAE. The comparability between the BAE and the BNCT illustrated here are powerful indicators of the forms of continuity between two similar institutions, operating under the same government in a completely different spatial context. The dependency of anthropology in the Philippines to theories and methods developed in the United States were maintained⁶⁵.

4.2.3 Christians and non-Christians: Categorisation and Racialisation of the Filipinos

The BAE had influenced the framework and the core objective of the BNCT, though undoubtedly, the application of the ethnological surveys in the Philippines had significantly changed to suit the population. The BNCT had advanced the polarised views of the Filipinos being either Christians and non-Christians, a practice which

⁶⁴ H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippines Islands in 1916* (Manila: Philippines Education Co., 1917), pp.11- 12.

⁶⁵ This is evidenced by the number of anthropologists that were trained in American universities and sent to work in the Philippines. Beyer stated some four to five anthropologists from the University of Chicago that was sent to do ethnographic work in the Philippines as late as 1956 and several others that worked on ethnological research under the Bureau of Science from 1954. Beyer to Powell Correspondence, 6th January 1956, PPMS 26/1/2, Files 1-4, Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

prevailed since Spanish rule⁶⁶. This population division is attributed to the theological foundations of the Spanish Empire and its pattern of subjugation in the Philippines⁶⁷.

The religious classifications of the Filipino population can be traced back to the writings of José Maria Ruíz in 1887 for the Philippine Exposition in Madrid⁶⁸. Ruíz was a professor at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila. He, along with fellow contributors for reports of the Exposition attempted to classify Filipinos according to the waves of migration proposed by ethnologists, Joseph Montano and Blumentritt. What made Ruíz and his colleagues distinct was the incorporation of the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy into the three race system (Negrito, Malays, Indonesians) proposed by Blumentritt and Montano⁶⁹.

This practice was continued in the *Atlas de Filipinas* with some minor modifications. Jesuit priest, Padre Jose Maria Algue classified the Filipinos into three, religion-based groups—*Cristianos*, *Cristianos Nuevos y los infieles*, and *los moros*⁷⁰. The *Atlas* was a canonical reference that had guided the American administrators on the geography and demographics of the Philippines during the early stages of their occupation, but it was Worcester who was instrumental in introducing the classification of 'non-Christian' to the American administration. Mary Jane Rodriguez clarifies that 'non-Christian' was perceived as more appropriate to the administrators 'instead of the more condescending terms such as "pagan", "wild men", or

⁶⁶ Terms used to uniform references made by Worcester, the BNCT and American colonial documents.

⁶⁷ Megan Christine Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists and Ilustrados and the end of Spanish Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), p. 61; Florentino Radao, 'The Salvational Currents of Migration: Racial Theories and Social Disputes in the Philippines at the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3, (2018): 426-444, p. 429.

⁶⁸ Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists*, p. 61-62.

⁶⁹ *El Archipiélago Filipino: Coleccion de Datos*, written and compiled by La Misión de la Campaña de Jesus (Washington: Imprenta de Gobierno, 1900), p. 167; Thomas, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

⁷⁰ Christians, newly converted Christians (which the Spanish authority did not recognise as 'completely' Christian; mainly converts from the interior and not the Hispanicised Filipinos), the infidels, and the Moros. From *Atlas de Filipinas: Coleccion de 30 Mapas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), map no.3. In this thesis, see Map 4-1.

“savages”⁷¹. The essential line of demarcation between the Christians and the non-Christians lies in the ‘level of civilisation’ perceived observable through the group's customs and culture. The term non-Christian became a permanent reference for the heterogeneous group of tribes in the Philippines. A government circular in 1927 explains the interpretation of the term ‘non-Christian’:

For the information and guidance of all concerned, it may be stated that the judicial, legislative and executive authorities have held that the description of “non-Christians” as used in the Philippines statutes should not be given a literal meaning, or a religious significance, as it was intended to relate to [the] degree of civilization. It refers not to religious belief, but to a geographical area and more directly to the natives of the Philippine Islands of a low grade of civilization.⁷²

Contemporary Filipino scholar, Ben S. Malayang III explains that the historical division between the Christians and non-Christians depicted the social reality of the Philippines at that time. Spain's three-century-long occupation had created a society that was either ‘fully colonised’ or ‘partially colonised’⁷³. Malayang III argues: ‘C-Filipinos [colonised Filipinos] ended up empowered because they experienced colonisation’⁷⁴.

The identification of the non-Christians automatically created the opposite group. The Christians, known for being Hispanicised and many were urbanised. This group was representational of the future active participants of the ‘stable government’ the United States hoped to help form for the Filipinos and were close collaborators of the civil government⁷⁵. Despite such recognition of the Christians, the use of the term ‘tribes’ insinuates that there existed parallel connotations to the stage of

⁷¹ Rodriguez, ‘Reading a Colonial Bureau’, p.18.

⁷² Ludovico Hirdrosollo, Director, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Circular no. 37, ‘Non-Christians: Interpretation of the Term’, PPMS 26/2/5, Files 36-38, Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

⁷³ Ben S. Malayang III, ‘Tenure Rights and Ancestral Domains in the Philippines: A Study of the Roots of Conflict’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 157, no.3, The PHILIPPINES: Historical and Social Studies (2001): 661-676, p.661.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.662.

⁷⁵ I have elaborated on this group in Chapter 3; at times referred to the *ilustrados*.

'savagery' of the Filipinos. The term 'tribes' for both the Christians and the non-Christians was intended to imply the different form of 'backwardness' attributed to each group—the former as politically degenerate elites in need of enlightenment on the nature of democratic government, and the latter as embodying the essence of barbarism and savagery often associated with technological backwardness⁷⁶. Furthermore, 'tribal slotting', as Deirdre McKay terms it, requires the administrators to identify a particular tribe to a place, thus legitimising restriction of signs of autonomous mobility⁷⁷. The racial division is explained by Kramer as a matter of complex consequence of the American preconceived ethnological assumptions, and a by-product of Spanish colonialism⁷⁸.

The population division thus invites queries vital to the understanding of the racial taxonomy and the implications of American ethnological research in the Philippines. The dichotomy of the Christians/ non-Christians exemplifies the complex entanglement between the scientific conviction of race as an empirical matter and the social reality of the era. Ann Laura Stoler argues that racial classification were not merely legal consequences of colonialism. Documented racial views, such as ones often manifested in official decrees, they were a formalised extension of a more intimate, secluded and elusive form of interactions⁷⁹. The division between Christians and non-Christians as the foundation in BNCT research, in this case, concedes to the astute racialisation inherent in nineteenth-century American anthropology. The 'racial vectors' that influenced debates on the annexation of the Philippines⁸⁰, together with the classificatory systems used in BNCT researches, had created two groups of colonised subjects.

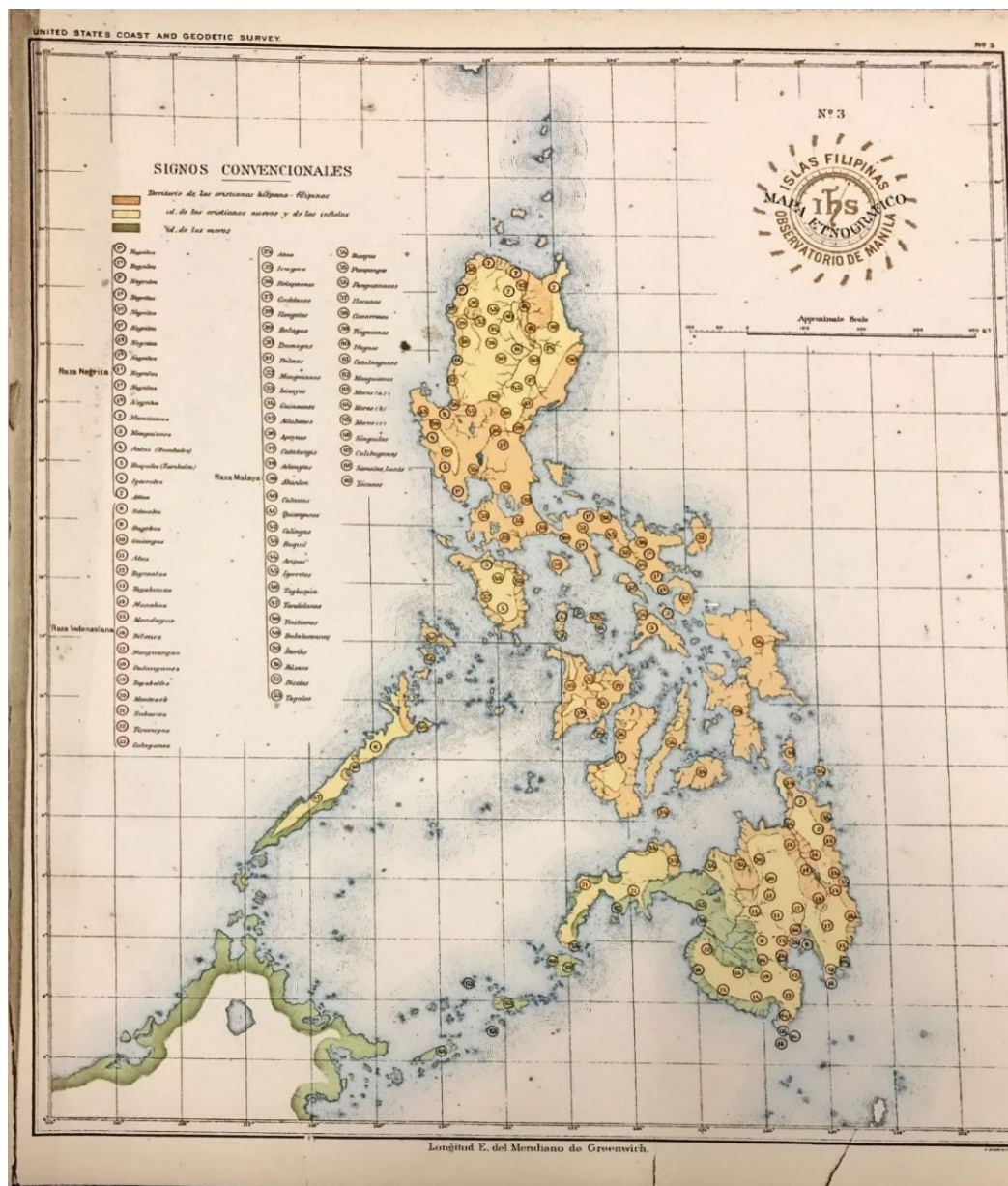
⁷⁶ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.161; Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.19.

⁷⁷ Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no.3, (2006): 291-306, pp.293-296.

⁷⁸ Kramer, 'Making Concessions', pp.76-7.

⁷⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties', in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 23-67, p.39.

⁸⁰ When discussing the annexation of the Philippines, the Congress argued that the White citizen that could potentially be the victim in the annexation, and not the Filipinos, and that the decision made to subjugate the Philippines essentially a great sacrifice; also refer to Baldoz, 'Racial Vectors of Empire,' p.79.



Map 4-1 Distribution of racial groups in the *Atlas de Filipinas*. Note the Christians are in orange, while the non-Christians are in beige and green⁸¹.

⁸¹ From the *Atlas de Filipinas: Coleccion de 30 Mapas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), map no.3.

From the beginning of the annexation, close collaboration between the urbanised Filipinos and the Americans had intensified the mistrust between the Christians and non-Christians⁸², and contributed to the isolation of 'tribal cultures' associated with the non-Christians and their need for a different form of tutelage and opportunities that what had been offered and enjoyed by the Christian elites⁸³. Vince Boudreau argues that the 'national elites' had been committed to creating allegiance to the United States when the impending victory of the Americans was anticipated in order to retain their status quo⁸⁴. For instance, under the American tutelary framework, more and more Filipinos could participate in politics and scientific research. Filipino participation in the BNCT surveys⁸⁵, consolidated with the appointment of Sanvictores as the BNCT director and Joaquin Luna as the first Filipino governor of the Mountain Province in 1914⁸⁶ further confirms the American cooperation with the 'civilised Filipinos'. American administrators' increasing reliance on the Christian Filipinos contributed to the widening margin between the Christians and non-Christians. This does not imply that the American was wholly dependent on and trusted the Christians to provide them with information on the non-Christians. This

⁸² As had been explained in Chapter 1, not all Christians were cooperating with the United States, though it must be noted that collaboration was more prominent than resistance based on the high volume of Filipino participation in the administration, highlighted throughout this chapter and in Chapter 5. Also Vicente L. Rafael, 'White Love: Census and Melodrama in the United States Colonization of the Philippines', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no. 1-4, (1994): 265-297 p.277.

⁸³ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.20.

⁸⁴ Vince Boudreau, 'Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance: The United States Colonial State and the Philippine Mobilization in Comparative Perspectives', in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, Julian Go and Anne Foster eds. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): 256-290, p.256.

⁸⁵ One anecdotal evidence was the appointment of Vicente García as assistant chief of survey and government photographer in 1902. From *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.607.

⁸⁶ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.20. Prior to Filipinization, there were Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda and Jose Luzuriaga as members of the Philippine Commission. See Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide, *History of the Philippines* (Manila: National Bookstores Inc., 1987), p.281 and Teodoro Agoncillo, *Introduction to Philippine History*, (Manila: Radiant Star Pub. 1974), p.194.

sentiment was expressed explicitly by Worcester in the *Report of the Philippine Commission of 1903*:

I am unable to see how the insular government could hope successfully to undertake to protect the wild tribes of the islands from imposition at the hands of civilized Filipinos, American, and other residents, or to establish local government for them, in the absence of accurate and reliable information concerning them and their relations with their neighbors⁸⁷.

The collaboration was one of the main reasons for the Americans to rule and organise the two classes differently⁸⁸. The creation of the Departments of the Special Provinces⁸⁹ testified to the officially recognised demarcated population. Another evidence of the different administration for each group is in the legislation in 1914 which consisted of forty-eight acts relating to the non-Christians. The acts mainly addressed the issues about harmonisation and integration of the non-Christian with the Christian population, including redistribution of the Christian population in Luzon and Viscaya to the non-Christian regions, and imposing harsh penalties against any act of exploitation and general cruelty against the non-Christians⁹⁰. The act also mentioned the appointment of a delegate to the secretary of the interior for the non-Christian people as a placation effort⁹¹. The forty-eight acts were an attempt to narrow the gap between the two divisions of the population through promoting unsegregated habitation, but these legal steps did little to officially end the ailment of the psychological, social and economic gap that were main reasons for mistrust and disharmony. The feeling of being encroached, as well as being marginalised further fuelled the enmity between Christians and non-Christians⁹².

⁸⁷ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.607.

⁸⁸ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.161.

⁸⁹ The concept of 'Special Provinces' and its relations to 'racialisation of territories' will be further explained in section 4.3.2 in this chapter.

⁹⁰ *Report of the Philippine Commission 1914*, pp.14-15.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.15, act no. 2404.

⁹² The interreligious conflict fuelled by the population redistribution in Mindanao and Sulu was one of the reason for the Moros to object to being included within the Republic of the Philippines in their fight for independence. The conflict is still relevance to the emancipation

Simultaneously, the rhetoric of 'non-Christians' was equally used by the Americans and the 'civilised Filipinos'. From 1913 to 1916, the majority of commissioners in the Philippine Commission were Christian-Filipinos, and from 1916 onwards, the policy of Filipinization ensured many more Filipinos held positions in public offices⁹³. The appointment of a Christian-Filipino as the director of the BNCT in 1916 seems to augment the social disparity between the two groups. Report of the customary practices by 'pagans and Mohammedans' as a hindrance to 'works of assimilation' testifies to ongoing stereotype of the non-Christians that pervaded among majority of Filipinos, and consequently led to formulation of a series of regulations to monitor the movement of non-Christian tribes⁹⁴. This does not imply that the Americans perceived the Christians as equals. Notions of Social Darwinism and the inherent superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race created a gap between the Americans and the urban, educated Filipinos. Vincente L. Rafael observed that the use of the term 'civilised' was only relative between the Christians and non-Christians⁹⁵. Hence, the policy of benevolent assimilation seeks to alleviate both groups into civilisation and remove any traces of savagery that the Americans believed to be a dominant trait of the Filipinos⁹⁶.

of the Moros until today. The nature of the conflict is a slight digress from the matter at hand, but it still can be attributed to the disparate administrative policies that took shape during the American occupation. More on the conflict in Pablito A. Baybado Jr, 'Beyond Colonization: The Impact of History in Philippine Interreligious Dialogue', *The Journal of Interreligious Studies*, vol. 20 (2017): 38- 53 and Lisa Huang, Victor Musembi and Ljiljana Petronic, 'The State-Moro Conflict in the Philippines', *INAF*, 5439, (June 21, 2012): 1-11, URL: <https://carleton.ca/cifp/wp-content/uploads/1392-1.pdf>. Accessed March 2018. It must be pointed out that the Christians did not constitute the elites *per se*. There existed strata of urbanised Filipinos who were Christians with different economic standings and level of participation in politics. However, it was the elite, Hispanicized, Christian Filipinos who were influential in politics, and they actively engaged with the American colonial administration. See Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.20.

⁹³ Maximo M. Kalaw, *Self-Government in the Philippines* (New York: The Century Co., 1919), pp. 109-110.

⁹⁴ Teopisto Guingano, Executive Order no. 1, Department of Mindanao and Sulu, February 15, 1919. From PPMS 26/2/5, Files 36-38, Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

⁹⁵ Rafael, 'White Love', p.276.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

4.2.4 Theories and Methods of Research

The BNCT operated as a scientific institution. The explicit objectives of the BNCT to understand the non-Christian population were complemented with theories and methods from BAE's research tradition and the various interactions of the imperial network. Since the beginning of its operation, the BNCT adhered to a positivist approach in understanding race, and valued data acquired from ethnological observations. The consistent theoretical theme which appeared in the examples to be shown in this section is that BNCT research recognised the significance of evolutionary theory in explaining physiological and cultural progress of the population. This entailed forming linear and definite categories of the population arranged in an order that reflected the group's adaptability to and level of civilisation. The methods employed by the BNCT in research were ethnography, recording physical measurements, and anthropological photography.

Ethnological studies in the Philippines was mainly based on the migration theory as an explanatory tool to identify original inhabitants. The migration theory espoused that the original inhabitants of the Philippines were the Negritos who used to live at the coastline until they were overrun and pushed to the mountains by foreigners that came in several migration waves⁹⁷. Blumentritt claimed that there were three waves of migration that dramatically changed the demographic in the Philippines: i) The 'Proto-Malays' (low culture, head-hunters, frequently associated with Dyaks of Borneo); ii) Malayan tribes of higher culture that were affected by the Hindu civilisation, hence had a greater capacity for civilisation and were easily Hispanicised and Christianised by the Spaniards; last to arrive were iii) The 'Mohammedan Malays', the true Malays often found settled in the south⁹⁸. Barrows drew similarities between the Negritos to the *Sakaïs* in the Malay Peninsula and *Mincopies* of the Adaman Islands to argue that the three groups had similar features that were commonly found among the original inhabitants of the Malay Archipelagos⁹⁹. This view was also advocated in the *El Archipiélago Filipino*, to which the Negritos, observed as passive and docile by the Spanish administrators,

⁹⁷ *El Archipiélago Filipino*, pp. 159-166; *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, pp. 411. The migration theory was also used to explain the gradation of racial types in Malaya, with similar implications to the position of the Malayan negritos in relation to the Malays. See Manickam, *Taming the Wild*, pp. 37-38.

⁹⁸ Barrows, *Circular*, pp.5-6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.4.

were claimed to have been subjugated and pushed to the mountains by the more aggressive Malay and Indonesian immigrants that came from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra respectively¹⁰⁰. The inhabitants of the Philippines were construed through an evolutionary trajectory, starting with the Negritos as the most 'primitive', to be overcome by the more civilised and stronger Malays, and later Indonesians¹⁰¹. The following elaborations highlight some of the main theories and methods of anthropological works in the Philippines during American occupation.

4.2.4.a Measurements as Racial Determinants

Taking records of the natives' body measurements in the Philippines began since nineteenth century during the Spanish colonial rule. In the *El Archipiélago Filipino*, it is mentioned that the Jesuits initiated the studies on the Negritos that required carefully documenting nuances of their physical attributes¹⁰². In the 1880's a study by Montano organised the *raza malaya* into a spectrum, some closer to the Negrito, based on their body measurements¹⁰³. These early attempts to create a taxonomy based on phenotypes of what were mainly non-Christian population of the islands resonated in the anthropological research of the BNCT, as well as research by the University of Philippines that aided the development of anthropology in the Philippines after the decline of BNCT ethnological surveys.

Records of physical measurements taken of the local inhabitants were major indicators of the theoretical orientation preferred by researchers working in the BNCT. The stringent quantification of gathered data supplemented with observable and empirical traits of physical features added to the conviction of the validity and reliability of physical measurements as a demarcating tool. As Paul A. Kramer

¹⁰⁰ *El Archipiélago Filipino*, pp.154-156.

¹⁰¹ The arrangement of the Indonesians, Malays and Negritos, as explained here, coalesced Victorian notion of race with anthropology. See George Stocking Jr., 'The Dark-Skinned Savage: The Image of Primitive Man in Evolutionary Anthropology', in *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982): 110-132, pp.114-118.

¹⁰² *El Archipiélago Filipino*, p. 154.

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp. 180-193; Joseph Montano, *A Trip to the Philippines* (published as an EBook, Project Gutenberg, 1886/2004), under the chapter entitled 'Luzon'. URL: www.gutenberg/ebooks/13236. Accessed 20th December 2015.

explains, the effort to classify through a scientific method had ensured that there was a 'production of expert knowledge' of the local population¹⁰⁴. Physical anthropology also complemented ethnology to attain what Reginald Horsman referred to as 'the scientification of racial differences'¹⁰⁵. Therefore, the use of standardised methods that was already globally accepted as a legitimate classifying tool allowed for the racial classification of the Filipinos to be regarded as scientific.

Despite the criticisms questioning its validity and reliability as tools to ascertain racial criteria of a large group, anthropometry has strong historical roots in the United States. The first comprehensive research using anthropometry was the *Crania Americana* in 1839 by Samuel G. Morton¹⁰⁶. Morton classified the races of the Americas based on measurements taken from 256 skull samples, which he then arranged into a taxonomy that recognised the how one racial group was different from the other based on the size of the skulls. The theoretical and methodological partialities of the BNCT in particular and the American civil government in general did not digress from the original work by Morton. Physical anthropology in administrative and anthropological reports were constant during the American occupation. These are some examples of some of earliest works of physical anthropology, specifically on the use measurements to ascertain racial types in the Philippines. In the *El Archipiélago Filipino* (1900):

In contrast to the Malay race, the Indonesian race has prominence occipital region and muscles, high forehead, nose hooked, wavy hair, fairer skin. The criteria limited, or of exception to the Mindanaos.¹⁰⁷

While in the in the *Circular* (1901) Barrows wrote:

The Malay race is brachycephalic index 75-85, and the Negrito is very brachycephalic, in some recorded cases exceeding 96. White

¹⁰⁴ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p181.

¹⁰⁵ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), p.44.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas C. Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States* (Oxford & New York: Berg Publications, 2001), p. 18; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, p. 145 and Terence D. Keel, 'Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2013): 3-32, pp. pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁷ *El Archipiélago Filipino*, p.174.

racess and peoples are leptorrhinian, the yellow or Asiatic, including the American Indians, mesorhinian, and the black race, Australian, Melanesian, and African, platyrhinian.¹⁰⁸

In 1910, American physician-turned-physical anthropologist, Robert Bennet Bean, published a study named *The Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders*¹⁰⁹. Bean was a professor of anatomy at the medical school of the University of the Philippines when he was gathering data for his book, and he took anthropometric measurements of the Filipinos in a series of sessions. This included 800 students of the Trade and Normal Schools of Manila, and hundreds others obtained from fieldwork across the islands¹¹⁰. One of the distinct contribution of Bean's work was the classification of Filipino racial types based on the different features of Filipino ears. The excerpt below provides an overview of Bean's studies of Filipino ears:

Not having any preconceived ideas of the types of Filipino ears, I was led to select the European types with which I was familiar as the basis on which to begin my observations. I was surprised to find that the ears of Filipinos resemble those of Europeans, although the types at first selected were only the most general. The first 844 Filipinos examined were assigned to the groups as follows:

Ears of Adult Male Filipinos

Long (Northern and Cro-Magnon).....	345
Oval, shelf, no lobule (Alpine or French).....	86
Round, flaring.....	84
No lobule.....	122
Others.....	207

¹⁰⁸ Barrows, *Circular*, p.11. Brachycephalic defined as having a short, broad skull, while leptorrhinian, mesorhinian and platyrhinian refers to the shape of the nose. Similar research was done in the United States on African-American skulls by Bean, 'Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain', *American Journal of Anatomy*, vol. 5, (1906): 353-432.

¹⁰⁹ The full title being: *The Racial Anatomy of the Philippine Islanders, Introducing New Methods of Anthropology and Showing their Application to the Filipinos with a Classification of Human Ears and a Scheme for the Heredity of Anatomical Characters in Man*. Published Philadelphia & London: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1910). URL: <https://archive.org/details/racialanatomyph00mdgoog/page/n182>, accessed 10th October 2016.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 5.

Total.....844¹¹¹

The writings of American anthropologist, R.F. Barton, published in 1949 attests to the persistence of such descriptions in colonial ethnological literature:

I can give only a tentative somatological description, based on observation without instruments, and limited to the folk vicinity of Lubwagan. The Kalinga differs a great deal from other mountain people...His color is surely two shades darker than that of other tribes...The nose is usually straight or convex in profile and high and narrow as compared with that of the other tribes...The skull is dolichocephalic or mesaticephalic.¹¹²

These excerpts are not meant to answer ‘*why*’—as in why were these methods employed. Instead, these examples indicate that through time, even in different institutions, these methods had a universal appeal and were crucial factors to the scientific construction of racial taxonomy¹¹³. Briefly, these examples—from the Jesuit order, the BNCT and the University of the Philippines—were adhering to the uniformity of anthropological science that prevailed in the first half of the twentieth century.

Another case which supports this argument is the research by Daniel Folkmar in 1903, whereby a collection of somatological data from 838 Filipino prisoners were

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.167.

¹¹² R.F. Barton was referring to a mountain tribe from the Cordillera in *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Laws* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp.13-14. His fieldwork began in 1916, and may had continued up until the first three months of 1941.

¹¹³ On physical anthropology and the measurements of race, see Michael A. Little, ‘Physical Anthropology in the 1918 and the founding of the U.S. Journal’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 165, (2018): 626-637, and Matt Cartmill, ‘A Sort of Revolution: Systematics and Physical Anthropology in the 20th century’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 165, (2018): 677-687; also cited in other parts of this thesis are Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, *Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway, 1890-1945* (United Kingdom: United Books Publisher, 2014), Mark Swetlitz, ‘The Minds of Beavers and the Minds of Humans: Natural Suggestion, Natural Selection, and Experiment in the Work of Lewis Henry Morgan’, from George W. Stocking Jr., *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988): 56-83.

taken for the Philippine Exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition. Folkmar was a civil officer to the American government in the Philippines and was instructed by the Philippine Exposition Board and Barrows to collect data by creating a comparative index of the racially diverse inmates in the Bilibid Prison¹¹⁴. The data collected led to the publication of *Album of the Philippine Types* in 1904¹¹⁵, delineating the types and sub-types of Malays based on cranial and physiognomic measurements. The excerpt below provides one such example:

The Cagayans differ from other northerners, however, in having a very broad nose, slightly broader than even the average southern nose...Their prognathism or projection of the lower part of the face is but slight...To judge from the eighteen found in Bilibid, their color is darker, also, than that of others, as dark as that of the Moros—that is, they are of a reddish rather than a yellowish brown. Like all Malays, they are practically beardless¹¹⁶.

In another paragraph:

Both these peoples living further from the coast than the short-headed Ilocanos to the north of them, Tagalogs to the south, and Zambales to the west, it may be presumed that they obtained their northern characteristics from the tall, “Primitive Malayan” or “Indonesian” element of the interior. In still other respects they approach slightly the Caucasian type, having as compared with other Neo-Malays a relatively straight nose and a lighter, yellowish color.¹¹⁷

The work illustrates the state of contemporary theoretical and methodological standards as reflected in BNCT’s anthropological practice, and in general, the

¹¹⁴ Oscar V. Campomanes, ‘Images of Filipino Racialization in the Anthropological Laboratories of the American Empire: The Case of Daniel Folkmar’, *PMLA*, vol. 123, no. 5, Special Topic: Comparative Racialization, (2008), p.1693.

¹¹⁵ Daniel Folkmar, *Album of Philippine Types: Christians and Moros. Eighty Plates, Representing Thirty-seven Provinces and Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904). URL: <https://archive.org/stream/albumofphilippin00folkmoft#page/4/mode/2up>, accessed 12th June 2018.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.3.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.4.

methodological trends of American scientific institutions in the Philippines. Not surprisingly, Bean and Folkmar were trained anthropologists in service of the colonial government. They also oversaw projects that had profound implications to the scientific demarcation of race in the region, and were guided by the theoretical and methodological apparatus required at that time to ensure the projects met with contemporary scientific principles¹¹⁸. Measurements as racial determinants in the Philippines was not limited to the first few decades of the twentieth-century. The methods, as demonstrated by Barton in 1949, continued well after the independence of the Republic of the Philippines. Unlike ethnology, physical anthropology had a symbolic connotation to the scientific evolution and benevolence that presided over American rule of the islands. Rodriguez argues how the 'objectivity' of anthropology in the Philippines affected the nation's social dynamics:

As it is utilized the "objective" approach on ethnicity, the bureau highlighted cultural dissimilarity and heterogeneity among different ethnic groups in the Philippines to continuously fuel the debates on defining and constructing the Filipino nation.¹¹⁹

4.2.4.b Observing the Natives: Ethnography

Ethnography was an essential method for the BNCT to obtain data of the numerous tribes that otherwise rarely appear in historical sources. Ethnography ensured that the information gathered were updated and that the administration had first-hand knowledge of the population. There is also a profound meaning attached to the use of ethnography in a colonial context. Rodriguez argues that the use of ethnography as a method to understand the natives insinuates a form of subjugation, whereby areas that were otherwise obscure to the colonialists were finally 'penetrated'¹²⁰. Furthermore, Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink observe that the relationship between

¹¹⁸ Criticism against the reliability of cephalic measurements to establish moral or cognitive correlation was, in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, passionately expressed by Franz Boas. Boas' activism against the racialism found in the archaic scientific arguments supported by evolutionism is extensively explained in Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: The Free Press, 1940), pp.40-43. See also Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, pp. 276- 278; Patterson, *A Social History*, p.61.

¹¹⁹ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial', p. 23.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.4.

ethnography and colonialism was relevant to declare colonial representation, especially to the more elusive and isolated population¹²¹. Through ethnography, the BNCT managed to extend their presence physically all around the Philippines, and study the population openly.

During their most active period from 1901 to 1904, the BNCT organised volunteers to partake in an extensive survey for the bureau, hence continuing singular researches done by ethnologists from before the occupation¹²². As the volunteers were mainly teachers or from the military, they were required to socialise and be familiar with the natives, although professional anthropologists like Barrows, Jenks and Beyer had spent many years of their life in service doing ethnographic works. Ethnography was designed to meet the standards of empirical sciences, and Barrows encouraged BNCT field workers to observe the physical and cultural characteristics of a tribal group. This is clearly exhibited in an instruction in the *Circular*:

Learn carefully the names of the tribes, i.e., the name or names by which they are known to the Christianized peoples. Do they consider themselves to belong to some larger group or tribe or are there other and smaller groups affiliated with them? Are there other tribes speaking the same or similar dialects?¹²³

This excerpt demonstrates an example of an ethnographic query that met both BNCT's principles on establishing cultural and linguistic characteristics as racial determinants, with the administration's pressing need to identify tribes and their political affiliations. The fieldworkers, here referring to peoples from various backgrounds—teachers, army personnel and provincial officers—were required to obtain the answers to the queries in the *Circular*. Due to the nature of their work, be it teaching or guarding a provincial garrison and pacify hostile locals, the fieldworkers will spend weeks if not months with the people they are studying for the

¹²¹ Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, 'Introduction: Five Theses on Ethnography as Colonial Practice', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no.1-4, (1994): 1-34, p.19.

¹²² For evidence of continuity of ethnographic practices in the Philippines, see Daniel G. Brinton, Professor Blumentritt's Studies of the Philippines, *American Anthropologists*, vol. 1, no. 1, (Jan. 1899): 122-125, Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', pp.3-7.

¹²³ Barrows, *Circular*, p.9.

BNCT surveys, thus providing them accessibility to such information as required in the instructional booklet¹²⁴.

The choice to employ ethnography for the surveys ensured that the data gathered by the BNCT met with the minimum scientific standards, and unlike the censuses of 1903, 1918 and 1939, which I will discuss in the following chapter, these ethnographic observations were continuous and in-depth. BNCT's array of publications shows the diversity of topic, peoples and areas covered by ethnographic studies. American ethnological works were commended as successful by British anthropologist, Alfred C. Haddon in 1901 during his visit of the islands:

With characteristic energy, the Americans have made a good beginning with the study of the multifarious natives of the Philippine islands. Dr A. E. Jenks, who is chief of Survey of the Philippine Islands, has recently published a substantial volume...on the Bontoc Igorot... Judging from the short account of their physical characters, they, like so many other peoples in the East India Archipelago, are a mixture of Indonesians and Proto-Malays; a few are distinctly narrow-headed, about three times as many are broad-headed...¹²⁵

Another example of ethnographic work which took place outside of BNCT's jurisdiction but adhered to the methods and resources of the BNCT was Beyer's *The Population of the Philippine Islands 1916*. *The Population* attempted to come up with an estimation of the total number of the population in the islands by referring to the census of 1903. According to Beyer, the role of an ethnography espoused not only biological characteristics of the population, but also of languages and culture, as is illustrated in the passage below:

Since this estimate was intended to be ethnographic rather than geographic or political, it was considered to be of first importance to secure data as to ethnographic grouping, languages and

¹²⁴ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', pp.3-4.

¹²⁵ The report was made as part of an excursion from Haddon's own fieldwork at the Torres Strait, more famously known as the Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition of 1898. See Alfred C. Haddon, 'An Ethnological Survey of the Philippines', *Nature*, vol. 73, no. 1903 (1906), p.584.

dialects, religious beliefs, and general economic and social status, and to relegate other information to second place.¹²⁶

Based on these examples it can be concluded that the data acquired through ethnographic surveys had substantially helped efforts to create a taxonomy of the population. It is also correct to assume perhaps the most fruitful outcome of the ethnography was how the administration had established familiarity with obscure tribes, and subsequently formulated policies to administer and monitor movements of tribes¹²⁷. The use of ethnography as a classification medium was further enhanced by the advancement of the next method employed by the BNCT—photography.

4.2.4.c. Anthropological Photography

During the Steere Expedition and the Menage Expedition, Worcester took the initiative to photograph the 'primitive' inhabitants of the Philippines. This sparked what would be a career-long fascination with the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines, resulting in a collection of photographs that would be part of the BNCT archive¹²⁸. Later on, Worcester's photographs would be included in the Philippine Commission's annual reports to the president. The collection of anthropological photographs did as much to inform the administrators on the types and nature of the indigenous population as the reports of the surveys.

Anthropological photography in the Philippines fitted into the colonial patterns that appear elsewhere, that it was intended to create an objective representation of the colonised peoples as for how the colonial powers saw them¹²⁹. Elizabeth Edwards

¹²⁶ Beyer, *Population*, p.12.

¹²⁷ The most extensive discussion on the politics of ethnography in BNCT research is in Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', pp. 3-16; also see the same article p.22 on the extant of the surveys and Malayang III, pp.668-670 on mobility of tribes and its implications to claims on ancestral lands.

¹²⁸ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, pp.19-24.

¹²⁹ Carlos P. Tatel, Jr. 'Non-Western Peoples as Filipinos: Mediating Notions of "Otherness" in Photographs from the *National Geographic Magazine* in the Early 20th century,' *Asian Anthropology*, (2011), vol. 10, no.1, pp.61-62; Virginia R. Dominguez, 'When the Enemy is Unclear: US Censuses and Photographs of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from the

explains the analytical angles from which anthropological photographs could be understood. The first is to 'make scientific' the object captured on camera. This pertains directly to the object, and it entails an analysis of how the object was situated within the photograph, the effort to create uniformity between and within frames and how this is used to testify to scientific representation. Secondly, is how the object was selected, disseminated and archived, or the 'micro-relations' that surrounds the captured object¹³⁰. The BNCT actively utilised the camera in order to visually capture the distinct characteristics of every Filipino tribes and archived them. These photographs shown below merged BNCT's theoretical framework with explicit visual depictions of the Filipinos. For example, Figure 4-1, taken from Haddon's 'Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands'¹³¹, shows the relative height of a Caucasian officer with two Negrito men. This photograph implies a continuum to Haddon's understanding of race and BNCT's, most clearly through the emphasis of physical differences that supports anthropometric measurements as categorisation criteria for race¹³².

Beginning of the 20th Century', *American Studies an International Journal*, vol. 5, no.2, (2007): 173-203, p. 174.

¹³⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publication, 2001), pp.57-59.

¹³¹ Haddon, 'Ethnological Survey', p. 584.

¹³² This is an independent inference made from a scrutiny of an article Haddon authored, 'The Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait', *Nature*, vol. 59, no. 1521, (1898), p.174.



Figure 4-1 Natives with an American officer. The juxtaposition of the colonial physique with the colonised subjects creates a display of visual taxonomy.

The photo was taken outdoors and appears somewhat informal. Despite the natural setting¹³³, this photograph still managed to capture vital anthropometric details, such as arms' length and facial structure. The juxtaposition between the three individuals was aimed at establishing a clear visual anthropometric illustration. This argument is accentuated, though indirectly, by an excerpt taken from the *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901, volume III*: "The body of the Negrito is regularly formed. Their height varies from 1.30 to 1.57 metres, being less in the case of the women."¹³⁴ This indicates that a Negrito man is recognisable by his relative height to the 'average' Caucasian. In comparison to other racial groups, the Negrito has frequently been argued as being the 'weakest' and the 'smallest':

The Negritos attract attention at first glance on account of the relatively large size of the head, lack of prognathism, and the

¹³³ Edwards suggests that the conventional practice of blanking out photograph's background ensured the ethnographic objects were 'removed from both time and perspectival space', a technique which this photograph evidently did not employ. See Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p.59.

¹³⁴ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901, volume III* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p.348.

elevation of the cheek bone. Their general aspect is that of a weak people.¹³⁵

Figure 4-2 shows another way Negritos were portrayed in anthropological photographs. Here, the focus is on constructing a naturalised image of the Negritos. This photograph is meant to depict the Negrito stereotype, and not draw out comparisons. Several elements in this photograph is related to the typical attributes of the Negritos; the bow and arrow, adornment of loincloth and the hunting ground in the middle of the jungle. The photograph is captioned in its source, 'Characteristics of Races Inhabiting the Philippines', *Report of the Philippine Commission 1901 volume III*, as 'Negritos or Aetas', placed at the introductory page of the section dedicated to ethnology¹³⁶. Unlike Figure 4-1, Figure 4-2 is more explicit in forming a stereotype of the Negritos through the 'natural' pose and background.



Figure 4-2 Negritos in a 'natural' pose and background. From the ethnological section of *Report of the Philippine Commission 1901*.

¹³⁵ Description of Negritos by Joseph Montano, nineteenth century ethnologist, as quoted in the *Report of the Philippine Commission 1901*. Ibid, p. 347.

¹³⁶ Ibid, pp. 334-335.

In contrast, Folkmar's study of prisoners at the Bilibid Prison opted for a more formal and phenotypically nuanced photograph. Folkmar wanted to show the average cephalic measurement of a subject from different tribes through a series of portraits in the *Album of the Philippine Types* (See Figure 4-3).

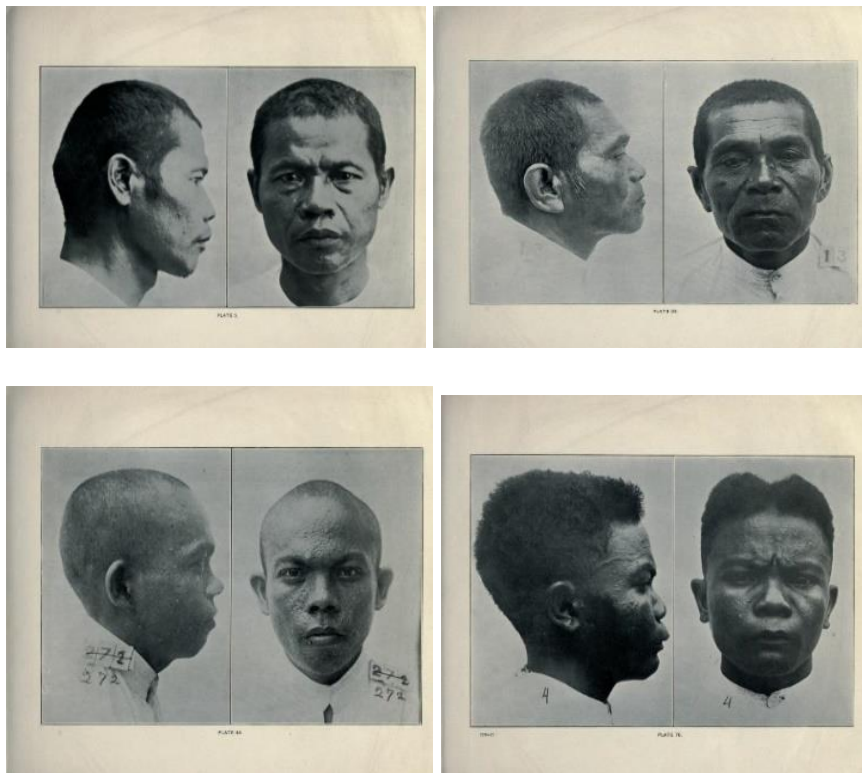


Figure 4-3 Anthropometric portraits of Bilibid inmates. (Clockwise from top, left: labelled by Folkmar as a Bicol, a Moro, a Negrito and a Tagalog)¹³⁷

¹³⁷ From Folkmar, *Album of Philippine Types*; in sequence Plate 5, Plate 29, Plate 48 and Plate 76.

Portraits were also used to accentuate cultural elements. In many of the photographs found in the ethnological section of the *Reports of the Philippine Commission*, a group of individuals belonging to the same tribe were arranged in a single frame, often displaying elements of their culture, such as traditional attire. Figures 4-4, 4-5 and 4-6 are examples of group portraits. In these photographs, note how the background is 'natural', taken from the home or village of the photographed tribe.



Figure 4-4 Group of Moros from the River Pulangi and their Dato (Chief), taken in a portrait form⁵⁰⁴.



Figure 4-5 Moro chief and his family.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, Plate II, between pp. 340 and 341.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, Plate XXVII, between pp. 376 and 377.



Figure 4-6 Manguianes women; Manguianes were considered a 'hybrid' Negrito, a mixture of pure Negrito with other Malay or Indonesian tribes⁵⁰⁶.

Photographs connected the metropole audience to the original observer in the colonial periphery⁵⁰⁷. By placing the objects in stereotypical poses or setting, the message with which the BNCT aimed to deliver to the scientific and non-scientific audience is clear—that hierarchy in the population exist in racial terms, and it is observable even to someone who views it from afar and not necessarily in the place from which the photograph was taken. The belief that the deployment of photographs as a tool to wordlessly justify claims of the 'tribal' and 'backward' nature of the local subjects was what Aloysius Cañete calls a pretext to subordinate the local population and to delineate racial typology based on 'scientific truth/ facts'⁵⁰⁸. Additionally, Edwards argues that by exhibiting 'primitiveness', the photographs formed a link between the backward cultures shown with the advanced civilisation of the Western world⁵⁰⁹. Photographs, as part of exhibitions, became an education tool

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, Plate VIII, between pages 358 and 359.

⁵⁰⁷ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 31.

⁵⁰⁸ Aloysius Ma. L. Cañete, 'Exploring Photography: A Prelude Towards Inquiries into Visual Anthropology in the Philippines', *Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 36, no.1/2, (2008): 1-14, p.4.

⁵⁰⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), p.175.

of racial notions in the Western world, and immensely contributed to the expansion of displays in libraries and museums⁵¹⁰.

The photograph constitutes relations across imagined national boundaries and within the given colonial entity. It equally conveyed the message of universality of the innateness of racial characteristics. These photographs were exchanged and distributed as part of the anthropological dialogue at the turn of the century. As an ethnographic apparatus, the camera and photographs were part of the psychological construction polarising the advanced and the primitive society⁵¹¹. Photographs constituted the power of display and surveillance of the colonial administration over the Filipinos and formed a basis for a scientifically appealing and empirically acceptable tool for racial classification⁵¹².

4.3 Taxonomy in Action: Racial Dichotomy and Racialised Policies

The preceding sections highlights key ideas and operations of the BNCT. The BNCT was an influential institution in promoting ethnological studies in the Philippines and structuring the population into a taxonomy. The BNCT had not relied solely on the data they acquired from the administration-supported surveys to categorise the population but based on the imperial network, they also relied on the works of German and Jesuit researchers and Spanish church records. The BNCT operated on the fundamental categories of the population—the Christians/ non-Christians. Non-Christians were studied exclusively as ethnological subjects. The administration of the non-Christians too was dealt with exclusively. This entails formulating unique policies for the non-Christians and present them as a distinct group from the urbanised Filipinos.

The relationship between the BNCT and the administration was not unilateral; it cannot be surmised that research in the BNCT was single-handedly responsible for the different treatments of the non-Christians. The role of Worcester as commissioner in 1899 and 1901, and as Secretary of the Interior who mobilised the creation of the BNCT meant that the American administration in the Philippines and the BNCT were interdependent in perpetuating the population dichotomy previously

⁵¹⁰ Ibid, p. 226.

⁵¹¹ Cañete, 'Exploring Photography', pp.4-5.

⁵¹² Ibid, p.7.

used by the Spanish colonial government. The BNCT and the administration symbiotically worked to introduce and sustain the division between Christians and non-Christians.

Nonetheless, the BNCT did on many levels, encouraged the civil government in Manila to govern the Filipinos based on a racial hierarchy that was formed closely to the theory of evolution proposed by Darwin. Findings by the BNCT were also used to justify a more extensive and severe monitoring of the non-Christians as compared to the Christians. However, it was not BNCT research per se which highlighted the position of the Americans as the superior Anglo-Saxon rulers in relation to the 'inferior' Filipinos, and subsequently the hierarchy between Christian Filipinos and non-Christian Filipinos. The colonial structure built and legitimised through BNCT's research was projected through the policies of other American institutions in the Philippines. In this section, I will discuss how the division of American/Filipinos and Christians/ non-Christians were put into action and mobilised by American colonial institutions. These institutions—be it museums, schools, hospitals and government agencies—adopted the racial division in the Philippines, and in many ways, perpetuated the population dichotomy through a series of interactions that form the institutional network of the administration.

4.3.1 Exhibitions and Expositions: Display and Classification of Colonial Bodies

4.3.1.a. The Philippine Exhibition at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 marked the elimination of French competition in the American colonial venture. The celebratory exposition was organised to make a comprehensive display of the United States' possessions and to announce American political, and economic success within the continent and abroad⁵¹³. The exposition included exhibits of the United States industrial and agricultural products and technology. The Philippines Exhibit was part of the exposition mainly because, among many reasons, the organisers also sensed 'a novel and insatiable hunger for information about the territories and the greater Pacific'⁵¹⁴.

⁵¹³ Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin History of the United States of America* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), p.237; Kramer, 'Making Concessions', p.80.

⁵¹⁴ Kramer, op. cit., p.81.

The Philippine Exhibition⁵¹⁵ was designed to ensure the exhibit met with aesthetical and anthropological criteria. It was also arranged in such a way as to depict the evolutionary trajectory of the various groups of Filipinos, from the 'civilised' to 'primitive'. Juxtaposed with the American visitors, the exhibit was an overt manifestation of how American racial views dictated displays in a large exhibition that had the power to influence the American public.

Over 1000 people were placed in the exhibit, arranged according to tribes and settled in about fifteen made-up villages. Some Filipinos were part of the Manila exhibit, a re-creation of the city which attempted to show Spanish influences. This 'mini Manila' comprised of a reproduction of the Manila Cathedral and the Ayuntamiento⁵¹⁶. The Philippine Exhibition drew in a large crowd of up to 18.5 million people, but the crowd were especially curious of the non-Christian tribes. The organisers did not have all the tribes displayed in the exhibition but were content to have the Negrito and the Igorots due to their 'primitiveness'. The fascination for the exotic is apparent in the introductory paragraph of a booklet published during the exhibition: 'About the time the World's Fair City is waking at early morning, one hundred bare-limbed Igorot offers sacrifice and eat a dog on the Philippines reservations'⁵¹⁷. The author went on to correlate American rule with the state of civilisation in the archipelago: 'The Igorot represent the wildest race of savages, the scouts stand for the result of American rule—extremes of the social order in the islands'⁵¹⁸. American headlines were saturated with the sensationalised depiction of the Igorots. One headline read 'Igorrotes will be clothed'⁵¹⁹ and another, 'Dog-eating Igorrotes long for the Luzon'⁵²⁰ received more attention as part of the Philippine

⁵¹⁵ So called because of the arrangement of the tribes in the exhibition were comparable to an Indian reservation. See Grindstaff, 'Creating Identity', p.245.

⁵¹⁶ Ayuntamiento: main government building; see Newell, *Philippine Exposition*, p.1.

⁵¹⁷ Newell, *Philippine Exposition*, p.3.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ From *The New York Times*, (9th August, 1904), p.7. Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/96464475?accountid=10673>. Accessed 16th January 2017.

⁵²⁰ From *The Washington Post*, (18th July, 1906), p.4. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/144679560?accountid=10673>. Accessed 16th January 2017.

exhibit than the intended 'classification of progress' the villages were meant to represent⁵²¹.

Beverly Grindstaff argues that the classification and presentation of Filipino bodies in the exhibition re-focuses on the ethnological aspects of the Filipinos instead of the political. The 'politicised space', wrote Grindstaff, was located furthest from the main entrance of the exhibition, insinuating a clear delineation between the 'civilised' and the 'primitive'⁵²². A viewer's judgment, in consequence, is made based on seeing the tribes in their 'natural' setting, and that a re-enactment of villages merely acts as a mirror to a distant reality, and not merely as an orchestrated presentation.

The setting of the villages in the exhibit depicts the linear trajectory of human progress. Sadiya Qureshi argues that the 'theme for progress' in displays ensures that the viewers can capture and differentiate between the distinct phases of the population, and subsequently captures the exhibit meanings and accepts its manifestations of civilisation⁵²³. At the entrance of the exhibit, the 'mini Manila' welcomes visitors to a time capsule representing the Hispanicised, metropolitan capital city of the Philippines. The crowd-pleaser, which is placed in a large compound behind the cut-out of Manila, displayed stereotypes of villages so visitors may recognise the differences between each known group, and simultaneously form a smooth episodic transition from the modernised to the yet civilised natives⁵²⁴.

⁵²¹ Grindstaff, 'Creating Identity', p.249.

⁵²² Grindstaff, 'Creating Identity', p.252.

⁵²³ Sadiya Qureshi, 'Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples, and the Natural History of Race, 1854-1866', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 54, no.1, (2011): 143-166, pp. 150-151,

⁵²⁴ Taken from Alfred C. Newell, *Philippine Exposition: World's Fair, St. Louis 1904*, (1904), URL: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiuc.2869262;view=1up;seq=2>, accessed 16th January 2017.



SCENE IN SUYOC SECTION OF IGOROT VILLAGE.

Figure 4-7: Igorot village at the Philippine Exhibit, Louisiana, 1904⁵²⁵.

The Philippine Exhibit utilised a common vision of the Filipinos. The display of native and 'barbaric' aestheticism served to entertain and provoke visitor's imagination. It is also crucial to restate here that the exhibits were advised and compiled by the BNCT. The organisers of the exhibit, however, had not only replicated racial classification as advised by anthropological experts in the Philippines but had perpetuated and stabilised the existing stereotypes of the 'others' that inhabited within the colonial boundaries of the United States in what was understood as a scientific and perceptually non-intrusive exhibition⁵²⁶.

Kramer rebukes the efficiency and the success of the exposition, argues that its failure as an educational and colonial enterprise had affected the ethnological surveys and the museums in Manila. Kramer's arguments were justified through the conviction held by the commissioners, and even the Secretary of War William Taft. The exposition would be proof that the American tutelary government in the Philippines had been successful in transforming the natives, yet maintain the framework of racial marginalisation that was in sync with anthropological and political grounds that held to the belief of innate and evolutionary racial differences between white Americans and coloured Filipinos⁵²⁷. The material exhibits from the

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Qureshi, 'Robert Gordon Latham', p. 145.

⁵²⁷ The exposition venture was never replicated, and a net loss of \$600 000 was recorded in the fall of 1904. See Kramer, 'Making Concessions', pp.101-102, p.105.

exposition returned to Manila in 1906, and became part of the display at the museums in the Philippines⁵²⁸.

4.3.1.b. Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce and the National Museum of the Philippines

The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce functioned as three specialised divisions. It started in November 1901, when an idea of a museum to store the zoological and botanical specimens modelled after the National Museum in the United States was suggested by Worcester to display the artefacts from the Philippine Exhibit in Saint Louis that was anticipated to return to Manila in 1905⁵²⁹. It was the middle of the following year that ethnology and commerce were included as part of the commission's project to both store and continue collecting specimens and artefacts from the Philippines⁵³⁰.

Meanwhile, the idea for the National Museum of the Philippines started after the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. The return of artefacts displayed in the exhibition was initially collected by BNCT surveyors and stored as BNCT artefact. In 1906, these artefacts reached the shores of the Philippines, and concurrently, the ethnological survey became a separate unit and was absorbed into the Bureau of Education⁵³¹. Due to this, BNCT funding was significantly reduced, and there was no other option but to establish a museum designated for the exposition's exhibits. The first building used as a museum was on Calle Anloague in Manila. Between 1908 and 1914, the museum building went through several changes to accommodate incoming collections as well as collaborative works with institutions overseas. Parts of the agricultural exhibit, at one time, were sent to San Francisco to be part of the Pacific Commercial Museum⁵³². In the Philippines, the Department of Public Works prepared the space for the public exhibition which was completed and opened to the

⁵²⁸ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1906*, p.346.

⁵²⁹ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.431; *Carta Circular del Gobernador Taft*, p.7.

⁵³⁰ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.431.

⁵³¹ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1906*, pp. 346-347.

⁵³² *Report of the Philippine Commission 1908*, p.188.

public in November 1914⁵³³. In the 1930s, the ethnological survey and the Bureau of Science were incorporated into the National Museum of the Philippines⁵³⁴.

The museum functioned as a repository of artefacts collected throughout the Philippines and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. At the initial stage, the museums' collaboration with BNCT was conceived as part of the administration's responsibility to engage with the public and deliver an 'accurate' representation of ethnological subjects⁵³⁵. The mutually beneficial roles of the two institutions merged as part of the colonial government's agenda to depict successful tutelage⁵³⁶. The museum transcended these two objectives—to educate the public and to archive materials for a growing discipline and to become a space for colonial government and anthropology to realise their overlapping objectives.

The force of such collaborative efforts subsequently formed public opinions and systemised notions and understanding of the exhibit, even beyond museum grounds. This meant that the continuous role of museums and exhibits as an informative and educational institution had created a realm of references to organised ethnological knowledge. This is in line with what Jenkins alluded to as the museum's potentiality to create a systematic view of subjects which existence could only be explained within the framework of a scientific classification opted through research and curation⁵³⁷. The racial classification of the Filipino—Manobo, Igorrote or Negritos; uncivilised or uncivilised; pagan, Christian or Moros—were all addressed by displays at the museum and were in parallel to BNCT's publications and reports.

⁵³³ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1914*, p.109.

⁵³⁴ Anderson, 'Science in the Philippines' p.300.

⁵³⁵ Jenkins stresses that the creation of museums to entice the public for profit takes precedence in the nineteenth century. However, this reference to 'responsibility' goes mainly to scientific museums sanctioned by the government as knowledge repository. Jenkins also argues that there were similarities between museums for profit and curiosity, with scientific museum—to collect, classify and organise a coherent display of objects deemed of value for public viewing. See David Jenkins, 'Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 36, no. 2, (1994): 242-270, p.243.

⁵³⁶ Kramer, 'Making Concessions', p.97; Grindstaff, 'Creating Identity', p.249.

⁵³⁷ Jenkins, 'Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays', p.261.

The image of American imperialism and the interpretive possibilities in museum exhibits acts as an educational and sustaining agency to colonial agendas and perceptions. Racial classification, accordingly, is not in isolation from the activities of the museum, but acts as a continuation to the series of interactions in the institutional network. As Walter Putnam argues, the museums' efforts to secure and display artefacts in a manner reflecting existing racial and tribal taxonomies had legitimised the representation of 'ethnic' or 'tribal' groups on display⁵³⁸. This included the perception of the collectors' and curators' authority to classify and organise the artefacts, as well as the stylisation of the displays as being objective and scientific. The museum was an immortalised space of 'savagery' and a stagnant embodiment of racial representation and its stereotypes. Both the museum and exposition served to sustain racial taxonomy.

4.3.2 'Special Provinces': The Mountain Province and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu

According to Beyer, the irregularity of provinces with a majority of non-Christian inhabitants justified the mere acquisition of information from individuals with 'special knowledge'. Subsequently, these acquired information can be cross-verified with public records⁵³⁹. The alleged nature of many non-Christian inhabitants—hostile, nomadic or semi-nomadic—prevented municipal offices from directly engaging with the locals in order to gather a concise and accurate data of the population⁵⁴⁰. Beyer was collecting data for his book, *The Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, two years before the second census of the Philippines was enumerated⁵⁴¹. Irregularities in the provinces that were inhabited by a majority of non-Christians were not merely administrative, but it espouses a fundamental argument for a

⁵³⁸ Walter Putnam, "'Please Don't Feed the Natives': Human Zoos, Colonial Desire and Bodies on Display', *FLS*, vol. 39, (2012): 55-68, pp. 60.

⁵³⁹ H. Otley Beyer, *The Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1917), p.11. URL: <https://archive.org/details/populationofphil00beyerich>. Accessed 20th May 2018.

⁵⁴⁰ Descriptions of the non-Christian tribes as illustrated earlier in this chapter; also refer to Chapter 5 of this thesis and Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no. 3, (2006): 291-306, pp.293-295.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

continuous racialisation of the population. The prevalent logic that surrounded the creation of Special Provinces was that the regions involved— the Moro Province, encapsulating Mindanao and Sulu, founded in 1903 and the Mountain Province in Northern Luzon founded in 1908⁵⁴²—cannot be administered as coherent units with the rest of the Philippines due to the innate cultural differences of its inhabitants. The differences between Christians and non-Christians had resulted in the demarcation of these provinces from the rest of the Philippines⁵⁴³.

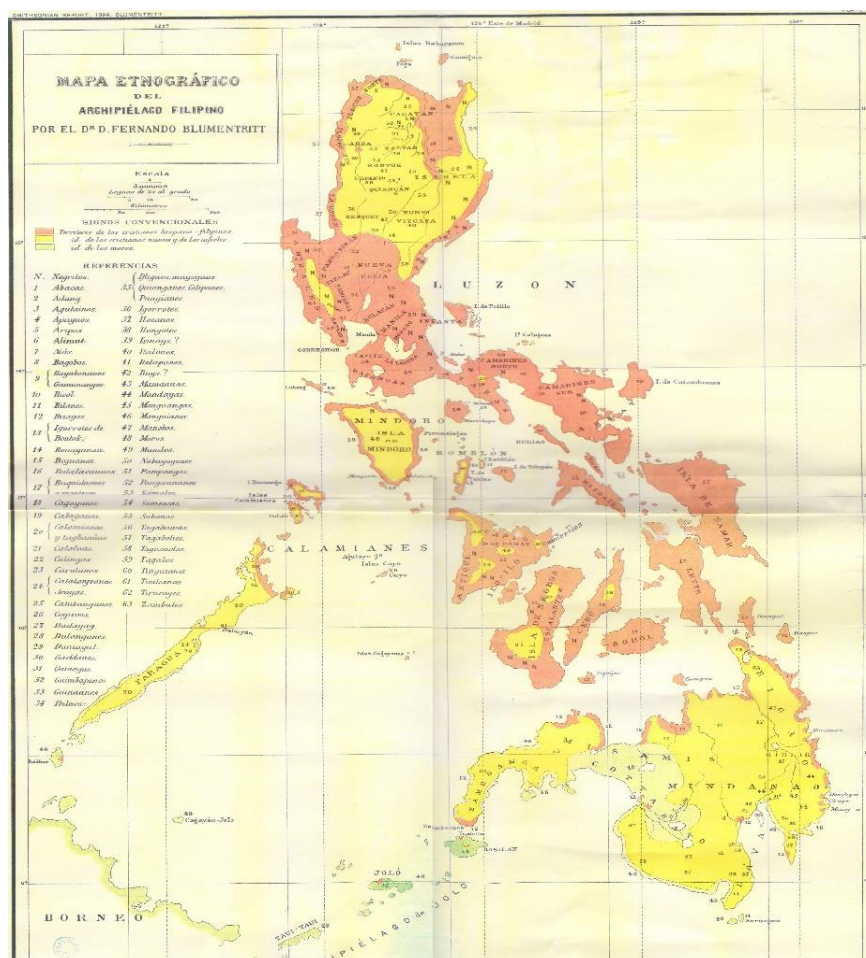
In line with the Christians and non-Christians dichotomy, the Special Provinces were, in government references, areas of profound technological and cultural backwardness. The views of which are reflected in the organisation of these provinces into 'tribal wards'⁵⁴⁴. In an article by A. F. Paredes in 1957, one of the identified post-colonial tribulations of the Special Provinces was quoted as '...to discuss their conditions of life, and means of cooperating with their more progressive Christian brothers.'⁵⁴⁵. This example provides an angle as to the long-term consequence of the existence of the Special Provinces and the racialisation of territories.

⁵⁴² Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.19; *Report of the Philippine Commission 1908*, p.37.

⁵⁴³ Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau', p.19. An incident in 1907 involving the murder of two American civil officers in by Negrito guides in the mountain province augmented the case for a taxonomy to delineate non-Christians from the Christians and the Americans. According to the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, no. 7* (Manila: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp.20-21, the incident indicated that 'we have been overconfident in our belief that the wild people of the mountains are invariably harmless when kindly and fairly treated.' The report written by Worcester went on to emphasize that it was a matter of urgency that to ensure the safety of these provinces, the civil government must impose the policy of creating different administration for special provinces to the interiors of the Mountain Province (p. 21). This incident may not be directly linked to the creation of the special province administration for the Mountain Province in 1908, but it adds to the American colonial administrations' arguments on the necessity of such policies. Report available online: <https://archive.org/details/report00integoog/page/n14>, accessed 4th July 2018.

⁵⁴⁴ In the Executive Orders no. 10, Series 1914: Municipal Districts from the Office of the Governor, (Zamboanga, Department of Mindanao and Sulu, 15th August 1914). From Ifor B. Powell Collection, PPMS 26/2/5, File 36: Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

⁵⁴⁵ A. F. Paredes, 'Problems of the Philippines' Muslim South', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, (January 3, 1957), p.14. From the Ifor B. Powell Collection.



Map 4-2 Distribution of the three groups of Filipinos in the *Boletín de Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, based on classifications by Ferdinand Blumentritt.

The defining lines of the Special Provinces was construed historically. According to Worcester in *The Philippines: Past and Present*, the Spanish failure to continuously subdue a large expanse of land in the northern Cordillera and the southern islands meant that a large portion of the inhabitants in these areas remained as non-Christian. He explained that the most delineating characteristics of the inhabitants were their rejection of Christianity, but stipulated that other than that, the cultural, racial and socioeconomic structure of every tribes inhabiting these regions were heterogeneous⁵⁴⁶. The areas known as Special Provinces can be seen in Map 4-1. The map, drawn by the Jesuits based on classifications by Blumentritt of the three races of the Philippines is coded in three colours: i) Red: territory of the Christian

⁵⁴⁶ Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines: Past and Present* (New York: MacMillan, 1914), pp. 532-533. URL: <https://archive.org/details/afj2380.0001.001.umich.edu>, accessed 5th May 2017.

Hispanic Filipinos; ii) Yellow: territory of “new Christians” and the infidels; and iii) Green: the territory of the Moros. The concentration of the non-Christians in the areas in the north (coloured yellow) and the south (coloured yellow and green) forms what later is known as the Special Provinces⁵⁴⁷.

Consistent with Barrows’ report in the census of 1903⁵⁴⁸, Worcester also regarded the best source of information on the earliest classifications of Filipino tribes was by Blumentritt⁵⁴⁹. In 1926, the civil government of the United States in the Philippines published the *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands of 1917*, which defined the boundaries of the Special Provinces to Mindanao and Sulu, which consist of Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Sulu and Zamboanga; meanwhile the Cordillera region were organised into the provinces of Benguet, Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontoc and Nueva Vizcaya⁵⁵⁰.

The Special Provinces were an anomaly compared to the other provinces in the Philippines regarding its organisational structure. Outside the Special Provinces, there was an option for the inhabitants to elect their local governor. Many of these provinces had some autonomy to make political decisions and were given opportunities to participate directly, including being appointed as officials⁵⁵¹. Meanwhile, the Special Provinces governors were strictly determined by the American administration, and a centralised government was maintained throughout⁵⁵². The inhabitants were also not allowed to relocate without the approval

⁵⁴⁷ ‘Mapa Etnografico del Archipiélago Filipino por el Dr Ferdinand Blumentritt’, taken from Francisco Coello, ‘Las Razas Indigenas de Filipinas por el Profesor D. Fernando Blumentritt,’ *Boletin de Sociedad Geografica de Madrid*, vol. XVIII (1890), p.42. URL: <http://realsociedadgeografica.com/publicaciones/boletin/>, accessed 23rd October 2013.

⁵⁴⁸ As illustrated in Map 4-2; further discussion in Chapter 5.

⁵⁴⁹ Worcester, *The Philippines*, p. 534.

⁵⁵⁰ *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines Islands 1917, Act No. 2711* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1926), pp. 18-19. URL: <https://archive.org/details/RevisedAdministrativeCodeOfThePhilippineIslandsOf1917>, accessed 5th May 2017. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p.7.

⁵⁵¹ Rodriguez, ‘Reading a Colonial Bureau’, p.20.

⁵⁵² Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.215. See also Ciriaco Raval, ‘Moros to Exercise Suffrage for the First-Time Next Tuesday’, *Herald*, (15th September 1935) from PP MS 26/2/5 Files 36-38. Ifor B. Powell Collection. SOAS Special Collection

of the provincial governor. In *Section 1, Executive Order no. 1* from the Office of the Governor, Department of Mindanao and Sulu, the following orders were given⁵⁵³:

Inhabitants of the municipal districts in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu are at this moment strictly prohibited to change their residence without first obtaining prior permission from the corresponding Provincial governor, who will determine whether or not such a change of residence is for the good of the interested individual.

This policy of restricting the relocation of the Moros is in contrast to the similar initiatives to resettle population from other islands to Mindanao. The Torrens system of land title registration, which was introduced in 1902 has made it compulsory for Moro landowners to register their communal land⁵⁵⁴. Due to their English illiteracy, these landowners were unable to register for the land title and consequently had their ownerships revoked. These 'nameless' lands were then opened for a relocation programme. Thousands of non-Moros, mainly Christians from densely populated areas in Luzon were resettled in the Moros' communal lands. By 1917, six agricultural colonies were created as part of the resettlement programme in Cotabato and Lanao⁵⁵⁵. The Torrens system is yet another example of the different approach taken by the Americans in administering the population in the Special Provinces.

Another development took place in 1917. Section 704 of the *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands of 1917* stipulates that the jurisdiction of the BNCT shall therefrom encompass the municipalities and local political divisions of the Special Provinces⁵⁵⁶. BNCT's duties included working for 'the advancement and liberty in favour of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipino'⁵⁵⁷. In 1927, house

⁵⁵³ Guingano, Executive Order no.1, p.1.

⁵⁵⁴ Specifically, the Land Registration Act of 1902 and Public Land Act of 1905. See 'The Torrens System of Land Title Registration', *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 17, no.4, (1917): 354-357, p. 355.

⁵⁵⁵ Pute Rahimah Makol-Abdul, 'Colonialism and Change: The Case of Muslims in the Philippines', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 17, no.2, (1997): 311-323, p.318; Huang, Musembi and Petronic, 'The State-Moro Conflict', p.2.

⁵⁵⁶ *Administrative Code*, p.339.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, Section 705, p. 340.

representatives from the Special Provinces proposed to the civil government to change the name of the BNCT to Bureau of Especially Organized Provinces. The proposition was made on the basis that the name BNCT 'is misleading and objectionable'. The sponsors of the bills also argued that 'that peoples of other nations get the impression that there are many uncivilized tribes in the Philippines when they hear of the bureau of non-Christian tribes'⁵⁵⁸. The name BNCT was never changed despite this demand, and the Department of Special Provinces continued to be governed with limited autonomy⁵⁵⁹. In 1935, the population of Mindanao voted for the first time in a general election. The opportunity to vote was associated with the capability to read and write, being male and above the age of twenty-one. To the new Commonwealth nation, Mindanao suffrage was symbolic of the new nation's unity⁵⁶⁰. It also meant that the criteria to vote had been met, with emphasis on the ability to read and write. Literacy and education serve as the continuum to the ecological factors that perpetuated the racial taxonomy.

Special Provinces were political and politicised entities whose existence was justified through ethnological studies. Kramer describes it as 'the territorialisation of race and racialisation of territory'⁵⁶¹. The Special Provinces was a consequence of racial classification and the hierarchisation of racial groups. Simultaneously, Special Provinces had enabled an organised construction of race and territory. The 'dual mandates'—denoting the different administration of regions identified as Special Provinces and those that were not—attested to the continuity of racial disunity that had surpassed anthropological studies⁵⁶².

⁵⁵⁸ 'New Name for Non-Christian Office Wanted', unknown newspaper (25th August 1927). Newspaper clipping found in file number 37, Department of Mindanao and Sulu. PPMS 26/2/5, Ifor B. Powell Collection, Files 36-38.

⁵⁵⁹ BNCT was abolished in 1936. See National Assembly of the Philippines, 'An Act Abolishing the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Making Necessary Provisions for the Administrative Adjustments Resulting Therefrom, Including Creation of the Position of Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu: Commonwealth Act No. 75' (24th October 1936). Published online. URL: <https://www.thecorpusjuris.com/legislative/commonwealth-acts/ca-no-75.php>, accessed 20th January 2019.

⁵⁶⁰ Raval, 'Moros to Exercise Suffrage'.

⁵⁶¹ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, pp.208-209.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

4.3.3 Department of Public Instruction

The racialisation of territories affected administrative decisions in the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) that was responsible for implementing American education policies in the islands. Part of the policies that were introduced reflected considerations on the different innate capabilities of the Christians in relation to the non-Christians, but as a whole, education policies in the Philippines were to effectively assimilate the Filipinos into an American socio-political worldview. The DPI's racialised policies can therefore be argued to be both putting an emphasis on the differences between the Christians and non-Christians, the Filipinos from the Americans and also to reform Filipinos in line with the policy of benevolent assimilation.

According to Anne Paulet, the similarities of mission and structure between the colonial education in the Philippines and the Native Americans, lies in the idea of tutelage⁵⁶³. Tutelage was differently applied to each category of the population, which in the *Reports of the Philippine Commission*, belonged to either of these two groups—those who received primarily Spanish religious education, and those who never received a Western education of any kind⁵⁶⁴. It is evident that the former refers to the Hispanicised, Christian groups, while the latter consisted of the 'wild tribes' and Moros. The dichotomisation is manifested and intensified through the educational policies implemented by the DPI during the American occupation. Unlike France, Germany or Britain, which provided education to the elite natives with the purpose of creating a loyal circle of colonised subjects qualified to serve the respective empires, Paulet highlights that the United States had an altogether different approach. To the Americans, education was a pacifying agent. Colonised subjects who were educated were more likely to be enlightened to the order and benevolence provided by the United States⁵⁶⁵.

With education being the means to express the United States' benevolence, the steps to educate the Filipinos had begun since the time of war. During the Philippine- American war from 1898 to 1901, General Otis assigned army officers to set up schools, mainly in Manila and founded as many as 120 schools. Otis, acting

⁵⁶³ Anne Paulet, "' To Change the World": The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines', *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 47, no.3, (2007): 173-201, pp.173-174.

⁵⁶⁴ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.121.

⁵⁶⁵ Paulet, "' To Change the World'", p.178.

on behalf of the United States government, also took up the responsibility to design the curriculum and ordered textbooks he deemed suitable⁵⁶⁶. In 1901 the military government was replaced by the civil government, and DPI through Act no.74 of the Philippine Commission was formed⁵⁶⁷. DPI extended educational efforts beyond Manila, gradually making schools available throughout the archipelago. Brian McAllister Linn claims that the army had used education to pacify the insurgents and gain the trust of the locals⁵⁶⁸, while Renato Constantino alluded the use of education during the entire occupation as a measure to re-create Filipinos and make them 'conform to American ideas'⁵⁶⁹.

The DPI was responsible for selecting the curriculum and textbooks and regulating teaching assignments. In 1901, as many as a thousand teachers were imported from the United States⁵⁷⁰. During the era of Filipinization, the enrolment of students reached over 945 000, taught mainly by Filipino teachers who were educated and trained by the Americans⁵⁷¹. DPI was also responsible for implementing policies that were crucial in the delineation of the population, mainly by introducing the use of English as mediums in schools. General John Eaton in 1902 had reported that the locals' 'ability to take up the English language was almost universal'⁵⁷², replacing not only Spanish but also seventy to eighty other local dialects. An extract from the *Reports of the Philippine Commission from the year 1901 to 1903* indicates the importance of standardised language in the Americans' education policy.

In many of the pueblos, not to say many of the provinces, after five years of American occupation, there is more English spoken than Spanish, and this, in my humble opinion, is the most hopeful sign

⁵⁶⁶ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.123.

⁵⁶⁷ *Administrative Code*, p. 420; 'Department of Education, Republic of Philippines', accessed 17th August 2017. URL: <http://www.deped.gov.ph/history>

⁵⁶⁸ Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University Carolina Press, 2000), p.20.

⁵⁶⁹ Renato Constantino, 'The Mis-Education of the Filipino', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 30, no.3, (2000): 428-444, p.430.

⁵⁷⁰ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.399.

⁵⁷¹ Wood and Forbes, 'Report of the Philippine Commission', p.682.

⁵⁷² John Eaton, 'Education in the Philippines', *The Journal of Education*, vol. 55, no. 4 (1363) (23rd January 1902), pp.62-63.

of a speedy and general understanding by the Filipinos of the real purposes of the American Government and their rights, duties, and liberties under the rule of their new sovereign...If therefore, the bureau of education accomplishes nothing more than to make English the tongue commonly spoken and commonly used by the people of the archipelago, it will more than have justified its existence and all the expenses it has incurred⁵⁷³.

The use of English was widespread, but to be able to learn English, children must have equal opportunities and motivation to attend schools. Without any law to make school attendance compulsory for school-age children, there was little motivation for the non-Christian children to attend. BNCT director at the time, Sanvictores appealed to the Governor-General to ensure that the government can encourage non-Christian children to attend schools while refraining from giving the impression that such actions were coercive⁵⁷⁴. The urgent request, it seems, only verifies to the general opinion held by the non-Christian of American schools, and equivalently, of the administration realising that there was a significant disproportion in school attendance and as a result, a disparity in the education level between the Christian and non-Christian population. Kramer argues that the English language be used as a mechanism to subdue the Filipinos within the Anglo-Saxon social and intellectual hegemony, thus enforcing compliance and loyalty. The Hispanic consciousness needs to be replaced by an English-mediated national identity⁵⁷⁵. More importantly, the use of English in schools, claims Constantino, had 'perpetuated the existence of the *ilustrados*'⁵⁷⁶.

Despite Worcester's original intentions, the BNCT has failed to foresee and resolve the issues of schooling among non-Christian children. In 1905, the bureau was incorporated as a division of the DPI. Other bureaus and units that were put under

⁵⁷³ Ibid, pp.690-691.

⁵⁷⁴ Memo from Jose G. Sanvictores to Governor-General Leonard Wood, (9th June 1922). PP MS 26/2/5 Files 36-38. Ifor B. Powell Collection. SOAS Special Collection.

⁵⁷⁵ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, p.691.

⁵⁷⁶ Constantino, 'The Mis-Education of the Filipino', p.439.

DPI were museums and libraries⁵⁷⁷. It can be assumed that by 1905, DPI had substantial, albeit implicit roles in the formulation of racialised policies in museum exhibitions in the Philippines. However, the rift between the Christians and non-Christians was most apparent due to the different level of acceptance to American education between the two groups.

The consequence of American education policies outlived American rule. In 1955, the House committee had reported that the education system had failed the Moros. The education system only benefited the Christians, causing the Moros to lag far behind in education⁵⁷⁸. The failure extends to other groups too. Rene Alexander Orsini Orquiza criticises American education for its ineptness in understanding the unique situation with each ethnic group. This is especially true for those who are from an agricultural community. Class attendance was secondary to attending to the community's demands, causing many students to fail school or stop enrolling altogether⁵⁷⁹. According to the committee, this had contributed to the 'backwardness' that so prevailed among the non-Christians. The standardisation of language, and of the system were oblivious to the ethnological details that may have deterred equal progress for all classes of the population.

The scenario was not as simple as having a unique group culture attributing to the failure of education. The most damaging policy was that albeit standardisation of system and language, there was no such measure in the curriculum, especially in tertiary education. Fred Atkinson, the first Superintendent of Education, had suggested different training for the Igorrotes, which he felt were better suited for industrial or agricultural training as opposed to academic training⁵⁸⁰. The *Report of the Philippine Commission in 1915* also stated that the Christian groups were to be

⁵⁷⁷ See section 4.2.1 of this chapter. See also David Prescott Barrows, *Decade of American Government in the Philippines, 1903-1914* (New York: Yonkers-on-Hudson, Worldbook Co., 1914), pp. 14-16.

⁵⁷⁸ As cited in M.U. Dandan, 'The Moro Problem in the Philippines', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, (April 21, 1955), pp.500-501. PP MS 26/2/5 Files 36-38. Ifor B. Powell Collection. SOAS Special Collection.

⁵⁷⁹ Rene Alexander Disini Orquiza, 'Food, Class, and the American Imperial Experience in the Philippines'. (PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2012), p.34.

⁵⁸⁰ Anecdote taken from Paulet, "' To Change the World'", p.175.

given academic training, while the rest were to be primarily given other forms of vocational training⁵⁸¹.

These discerning measures in curriculum excluded the non-Christian groups such as the Moros from the national narrative of patriotism. The Moros were, as M.U. Dandan implied, unable to relate to the struggles of the nation⁵⁸². The Igorots, due to their remote location and association with agriculture, were deemed unsuitable for administrative jobs that were held by Americans and Christian Filipinos. Early post-colonial literature often lauded the American achievements in helping Filipinos progress through education. Teodoro Agoncillo regards it as 'One of the greatest achievement of the Americans in the Philippines'⁵⁸³ while Gregorio F. and Sonia M. Zaide claimed that the 'blessings of education were given to all people, irrespective of social position and wealth'⁵⁸⁴. In critically analysing the BNCT research and the Christian- non-Christian dichotomy, it is important to consider the role of education in perpetuating the gap between the two groups. The gap here best elucidated by Constantino on the elites and the use of English with the masses:

The result is leadership that fails to understand the needs of the masses because it is a leadership that can communicate with the masses only in general and vague terms. This is one reason why issues are never fully discussed. This is the reason why orators with the best inflections, demagogues who rant and rave are the ones that flourish in the political arena. English has created a barrier between the monopolists of power and the people. English has become a status symbol, while the native tongues are looked down upon. English has given rise to a bifurcated society of fairly educated men and the masses who are easily swayed by them.⁵⁸⁵

Similar to the museums, the exposition and the administration of the Special Provinces', racialisation in education had widened the gap between the Christians and non-Christians through a series of policies that took into account the tribal

⁵⁸¹ *Reports of The Philippine Commission 1916* (Washington DC: Government Printing Press, 1917), pp.40-43.

⁵⁸² Dandan, 'The Moro Problem', p. 500.

⁵⁸³ Agoncillo, *Introduction*, p.188.

⁵⁸⁴ Zaide and Zaide, *History of the Philippines*, p.305.

⁵⁸⁵ Constantino, 'The Mis-Education of the Filipino', p.439.

attributes of the non-Christians and their propensity to not embrace colonial programs. More importantly, the education policies had simultaneously 'Americanized' the Filipinos and instilled the perception of taxonomy by emphasising the 'superiority versus inferiority' between groups. Despite receiving education in English, the Filipinos were still not seen as equals to the Americans. In the next section, racialisation is presented with similar emphasis on the inequality between the Filipinos and the Anglo-Saxon imperialists. Policies on health and hygiene further draw the lines of demarcation between the Filipinos from the Americans. The focus may alter, but the essential matter is that the administration continued to utilise racialisation in government bureaus with implications on the perceptions of race and preservation of racial hierarchy.

4.3.4 Bureau of Health

Kramer, in an essay on prostitution during the turbulent period of the American-Philippine war⁵⁸⁶, argues that the health regulation was construed and manifested in a spirit of racialised policies. The regulation of prostitution were implicitly done due to the assumed susceptibility of the particular racial group to be infected with venereal diseases. He wrote:

...systems of regulation institutionalized gendered and racialised notions of morality and disease, casting "native women" as the "source" of venereal disease and the exclusive object of inspection, treatment, and isolation.⁵⁸⁷

The regulation of prostitutes here exemplifies the Bureau of Health's role in extending racialised norms and in strengthening a racial taxonomy based on the treatments of diseases and hygiene that were primarily conceived to safeguard the Americans from the Filipinos, and secondly, to 'educate' the Filipinos on matters on hygiene. While these efforts are not hostile, the interpretation of the American policies on health and hygiene in the tropics can best described as, in the words of Warwick Anderson: 'Hygiene reform in this particular fallen world was intrinsic to a "civilizing process," which was also an uneven and shallow process of

⁵⁸⁶ Paul A. Kramer, 'The Darkness that Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War', in *Haunted by Empire*, Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006): 366-404, p. 366.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid, p.367.

Americanization'⁵⁸⁸. Furthermore, the 'civilizing process' were uneven—urban areas with easier access to the Americans received better healthcare. Consequently, areas that were too remote and inaccessible get left behind, areas which were mainly occupied by non-Christian tribes. This section will look into how the Bureau of Health maintained the status quo of American vis-à-vis the Filipinos, and the Christian Filipinos vis-à-vis the non-Christians, and how health regulations were used as an extension of the moral and racial understanding on race. The discussion is focused on establishing how the Bureau of Health interacted with the BNCT and other bureaux as part of the ecological narrative of racial taxonomy in the Philippines.

The Bureau of Health became the primary regulatory body for health and sanitation in the colonial administration from 1901. Hygiene in the tropics burdened the Americans—the fear of tropical, therefore unfamiliar, diseases intensified health inspections, especially among the Filipinos. The American anxiety in the tropics began very early on in the occupation. Anderson noted that during the Philippine-American war, more soldiers were killed by diseases than from battle wounds and injuries⁵⁸⁹. The Americans ensured that the military medical services were in top form. Medical personnel, comprising of medical officers and “sanitary soldiers” or male nurses were ample, and a field hospital was built for every division of ten thousand men⁵⁹⁰. After the war, pervasive anxieties included not only physiological diagnosis but as Anderson observes, there was an emerging symptom which was attributed to “tropical neurasthenia” or “brain-fag”⁵⁹¹. The Director of Health, Victor G. Heiser reported that the ‘conditions [in the Philippines] concerning warmth and moisture being such that mosquitoes and other insects, together with bacteria and parasites, thrive throughout the entire year.’⁵⁹² Even at its very beginning, the Bureau of Health had to combat cholera and the bubonic plague, which required an

⁵⁸⁸ Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, p.14.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid, p.29.

⁵⁹¹ Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, pp.131-132.

⁵⁹² Victor G. Heiser in *The Annual Report of the Bureau of Health*, July 1, 1907 to 30 June 1908, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p.4. URL: <https://archive.org/details/annualreportbur00heisgoog>, accessed 17th July 2016.

extensive overhaul of Manila's infrastructure. This included the closing of wells and demolishing buildings intended to control the spread of diseases.

Worcester's report illustrated the unhygienic condition in Manila and the bubonic plague which took place from 1900 to 1902⁵⁹³. The unsanitary condition was mainly ascribed to the 'Chinese residents and lower class of Filipinos', whose sanitation habits had rendered 'the enforcement of proper sanitary regulations well-nigh impossible'⁵⁹⁴. Asiatic cholera, which believed to have infiltrated the Philippines from Canton, China and Hong Kong in 1902, prevented any imports of vegetables from these regions into the Philippines. Bureau of Health personnel monitored the population for bowel problems and took culture samples from water supplies in the Manila region. The report of 1902 also stated that cholera was limited to the densely populated Farola district, north bank of the Pasig River. Quarantine was difficult to monitor, and at last Worcester instructed the inhabitants to be relocated to San Lazaro detention camp and the entire district was demolished⁵⁹⁵. The bureau's efforts to curb cholera was not met without resistance. Residents of Manila, those who were 'ignorant, misinformed and ill-intentioned' accused the bureau of torture and unwarranted abuse of quarantined patients. Worcester also believed that there prevailed doubt among the specific class of the population that there were even any threats of cholera due to the perception of low death rates⁵⁹⁶.

The initial general perception of American officials was that the poor sanitation contributed to the spread of the diseases. Poor hygiene was allegedly innate to the locals, and the reports insinuated only American intervention rescued a dire situation⁵⁹⁷. The first example was in the 1901 commission report:

⁵⁹³ Number of cases reported was 271 in 1900, and arisen to 471 per cent in 1901. In *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.325.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, p.328.

⁵⁹⁶ In Manila, death rate was 93.3 per cent out of 102 cases; in the provinces 83.33 per cent, out of 12 cases of cholera. Worcester blamed distrust and hostility as the main reason for lack of cooperation to the American effort to control and eliminate the disease. See *ibid*, pp.331-334.

⁵⁹⁷ Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, pp.34-35, on unsanitary conditions of the hospitals; pp.40-42, white race not biologically and psychologically suitable for the tropical condition and the unsanitary condition of the tropics must be combated with a rigorous hygiene.

The sanitary condition of Manila is such as to make an efficient local health board most necessary. The city stands on very low and rather flat ground; it has never had a sewer system, and as a result, the soil has become infiltrated with impurities...Many of the buildings are improperly constructed and badly overcrowded. In order insure efficiency and render impossible any clash of authority, which might result harmfully for the public interest, the board of health for the Philippines has also been made the local board for the city of Manila and has been doing efficient work.⁵⁹⁸

Without ignoring the obvious health hazards in poor sanitation, the report must also be read as a cultural document—the sanitation issues were perhaps warranted, but it was also an argument constructed through a racialised lens. This is resonated in the earlier quote on ‘Chinese residents and lower class of Filipinos’⁵⁹⁹. The criticism is not rested on ‘racist comments’. It belies a more understated issue, that of regulations justified by racial anxieties. Just like the case with the prostitution during the military government, racialised regulations in health was principled on the understanding that hygiene and health problems were inherent in a racial group. The Bureau of Health had the responsibility to identify the common problems associated with poor sanitation and hygiene and rectify the situation, and this had in some cases, led to hostility among the local population. As Rodney J. Sullivan explains, these frictions in health regulations was a consequence of racial stereotypes, inherited from various sources on the Philippines by non-Filipinos⁶⁰⁰.

Another aspect which focuses on race and health issues is the dissenting views the colonial administration had of local health values. According to Anderson, the Americans viewed the Filipinos as natural hosts and carriers of microbes that the Filipinos had grown resistance to, but still posed a serious threat to the Americans⁶⁰¹. The clashes of health values are relatable to a study on American dietary programmes in the Philippines by Theresa Ventura, ‘Medicalizing *Gutom*: Hunger, Diet and Beriberi During the American Period’⁶⁰². Ventura highlights

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid, p.176.

⁵⁹⁹ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.330.

⁶⁰⁰ Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism*, p.109.

⁶⁰¹ Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, p.59.

⁶⁰² Published in *Philippine Studies*, vol. 63, no. 1, (2015): 39-69.

Governor-General Forbes' observation that the prevalence of chronic illnesses in the Philippines were conclusively caused by the Filipino diet of rice. The American administration aimed to resolve this through a collaboration with the Bureau of Agriculture, by introducing corn as a staple⁶⁰³. They believed that corn was not only commercially more lucrative than rice, mainly due to its minimum irrigation demands, but also healthier than the traditional Filipinos staple of fish and rice. This exemplifies the American need to intervene and reform undesirable traits of colonial bodies. Health problems, correlated to racial characteristics, were remediable through a cultural imposition from the colonising authority.

I take another anecdote from Ventura on the undesirability of colonial bodies and its relations to health problems. The then future director of the Philippines General Hospital, Dr William E. Musgrave in the 1907 meeting of Philippine Islands Medical Association, argued that the high mortality rate of infants in the Philippines was caused by the small breasts of Filipino women, which, unlike European, or white women, were unable to produce an adequate amount of milk to nurse⁶⁰⁴. Bureau of Health had launched a campaign educating the locals on methods to reduce infant mortality. A report in 1911 indicated that the bureau had encouraged the use of cow's milk as a substitute for breast milk. While milk consumption in the archipelago had increased, the number of infant mortality failed to be significantly reduced. Carroll Fox, the acting director of health in 1911 argues a different source of infant mortality, which was the use of 'carabao milk'⁶⁰⁵. According to Fox, the use of 'carabao milk' was as high as 93 per cent, which was dangerous as the animal was allegedly 'by nature a dirty animal'⁶⁰⁶. The intertwining argument, which centralises on infant mortality, binds two factors that were either the biological or cultural defect of the Filipinos. Through the advocacy of racial hierarchy, these examples demonstrate the bias that guided regulation and the preferences of the colonial administration taking precedent over conducting extensive research to verify claims.

⁶⁰³ Ibid, p.57.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid, p.52.

⁶⁰⁵ 'Carabao', or in Malay 'kerbau', is the Southeast Asian equivalent of buffalo. Carroll Fox, *Annual Report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands 1911* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), pp.8-9.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

As is evident in the report of 1911, there was no formal study done to justify Fox's claims, other than his observation on 'local conditions'⁶⁰⁷.

Another aspect to health and hygiene which leads to the racialisation of the population was the differences of healthcare in areas with a majority of Christian population and majority of non-Christian population. Healthcare extended to the provinces from the early phases of the occupation. In December 1901, the Bureau of Health organised provincial and municipal boards to oversee matters of health and hygiene in the provinces⁶⁰⁸. Each provincial board was led by a qualified physician. The provincial board also consisted of a civil engineer to supervise the building of appropriate sewage and water supply system in their respective provinces. Meanwhile, the municipal board was headed by either a physician or a medical student, assisted by a pharmacist. The bureau had difficulties in filling in all the positions required in both the provincial and municipal boards across the provinces, especially in Benguet, Abra and Lepanto-Bontoc that were mostly inhabited by non-Christians⁶⁰⁹. Report of the bureau's chief eight years later also mentioned the scarcity of qualified personnel to settle in the provinces as physicians and medical officers⁶¹⁰. The lack of qualified personnel was only one aspect of the problem with healthcare in the provinces. In remote areas, there were also reports of 'indifference and apathy' among health officers in combating diseases in their municipal districts⁶¹¹. As the bureau's chief, Heiser proposed a penalty of reduction of salary for any personnel that did not follow standard regulations as advised by the Bureau of Health. The lack of personnel and the lackadaisical attitude towards bureau's policies affected the population in remote areas.

Difficult terrains and the shortage of manpower had disrupted the vaccination process in many provinces. The long journey to the provinces from Manila also meant that there were difficulties in keeping the vaccine viruses active⁶¹². Health officers also had to engage in sanitation campaigns with the non-Christians, which

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p. 322.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid, p.323.

⁶¹⁰ Heiser, *Annual Report Bureau of Health 1907-8*, p.16.

⁶¹¹ Ibid, p.15.

⁶¹² *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, pp.25-26.

added to the necessity of sufficient personnel and good infrastructure in the remote territories of the islands⁶¹³.

The circumstances in the remote areas were in contrast with Manila. For instance, schools in Manila has received medical inspection from nurses, a rare occurrence outside of the capital⁶¹⁴. Generally, the capital had more medical experts and personnel. Sewage system in Manila received a radical transformation in 1909, an achievement which Worcester boasted as 'only city in the Orient having complete water carriage system for the disposal of its sewage'⁶¹⁵. Heiser reported that among the projects to improve the sanitation in Manila included building of new drainage, improved water supply with new pipes and a proper channel to dispose human excretion⁶¹⁶. Worcester lamented in 1907:

The complaint has been made, not without some justice, that Manila has received more than its fair share of attention at the hands of the legislators to the neglect of the provinces which pay their full share of taxes. The amount of relievable human suffering which exists in the provinces chiefly populated by civilized and Christianized peoples is unbelievable if one has not actually seen it, while no practical measures for combating or curing disease are known to the non-Christian people and with them it is strictly a case of survival of the fittest.⁶¹⁷

Improvements in the provinces, notably the special provinces were only apparent in the reports from 1914 and 1915. In the report on the Bureau of Health from the *Report of the Philippine Commission 1914*, the following was expressed:

It is believed that the health officer should be the first man to follow the establishment of peace and order in the non-Christian sections of the islands. By this means the confidence of the people is more easily obtained and a firm basis established for the future work of civilization. It is hoped, therefore, that the Legislature will continue

⁶¹³ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1915*, p.62.

⁶¹⁴ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1913*, p.46.

⁶¹⁵ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p.28.

⁶¹⁶ Heiser, *Annual Report Bureau of Health 1907-8*, pp.4-5.

⁶¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 36.

its enthusiastic support of health work by furnishing adequate and constantly increasing funds for the spread of the knowledge of sanitation among the non-Christian peoples.⁶¹⁸

This excerpt plainly illustrates the bureau's main concern with upholding their mission to civilise the non-Christians. There are other concerns that can be deducted from this passage, specifically pertaining to the differences in healthcare services in the provinces, and categorically, in provinces with a majority of non-Christian population. Aside from the ample number of physicians and health officers, sanitations, vaccinations and medical supplies were also affected in non-Christian provinces. Even provincial hospitals come much later in the non-Christian territories. The provincial hospital in Sulu was opened only in 1915⁶¹⁹.

How, then, had these regulations perpetuated the population division between Christians and non-Christians? The regulatory and policy rhetoric does not directly and forcefully manifest as a form of demarcating examples of racial taxonomy. Reports of the Bureau of Health and the Philippine Commission were not especially hinged upon the population division when it concerns health regulation. Instead, to the Bureau of Health, it appears all classes and groups of Filipino were equally detrimental to American health and well-being. These regulations render a more critical form of racial classification. The policing of Filipino bodies indicates that 'race' as a predictor of health issues and as variable influencing health regulations may not perpetuate the population dichotomy introduced by the imperial actors, but has set apart those in power from those who were not.

Another aspect to the health policies were the amplification of geospatial differences between areas of Christian majority and areas of non-Christian majority. The onset of the regulations was not designed on bias—the quote by Worcester in 1907 clearly expresses the distress felt by the colonial administrators with regards to their limited ability to provide equal healthcare for all classes of the population, which is partly caused by the impairment to the 'civilising mission' as mentioned in the statement made in the report of 1914. The circumstances discussed above are entwined with the development of the special provinces that racialised territories populated by non-Christian peoples. The consequences of disparities in healthcare services and civilising missions lies in the growing socioeconomic gap between the two different

⁶¹⁸ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1914*, p. 39.

⁶¹⁹ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1915*, p.256.

divisions of race in the Philippines, thus galvanising the notion of a racial taxonomy between the two groups.

4.4 Conclusion: Institutional Interactions

This chapter demonstrates the BNCT as a critical actor in the institutional network through interactions with other bureaux to put forth scientific arguments and to perpetuate racial classification of the Filipinos. The institutional interactions as elaborated in this chapter has been either formal, government collaboration or the manifestation of the racial taxonomy in the policies of other bureaux. This also included the preamble to the BNCT operations, specifically the historical events that had helped shape and formulated the establishment of the BNCT.

In this chapter, I emphasised on the role of the BNCT. The BNCT was part of the American administration and was founded through the recommendation of the first American Secretary of the Interior in the Philippines, Worcester. In order to govern the Philippines, Worcester believed that first, the Americans must be thoroughly familiar with the diversity of its tribal and racial composition⁶²⁰. The administration and the BNCT benefited greatly from one another in terms of collecting data on the non-Christian tribes and it organising exhibitions to inform the public, be it Americans or Filipinos, on the ethnological peculiarities of the Philippines. As a bureau, the BNCT was also operating separately from the other colonial institutions. Yet, as I demonstrate, the dichotomisation of the population was parallel between the BNCT and many other vital institutions in the administration. The coherency of the population division across the American administrative bodies attests to the role of colonial institutions in establishing and perpetuating a racial taxonomy, whether with or without direct intervention from the BNCT.

Several changes in the discipline and the American civil government in the Philippines caused research on scientific racial classification to regress in its significance to the administration. The first factor was the changing theoretical dynamics in the field of anthropology. Darwinism continued to guide American ethnologists working in the Philippines as other approaches were being used by their colleagues in the United States. The scientific progress was gradual, and in the peripheral domain of the colonies, even slower. Patrick Wolfe, in his essay 'White Man's Flour': The Politics and Poetics of an Anthropological Discovery', describes

⁶²⁰ *Report of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, pp.47-48.

this phenomenon as a power play of the colonial government in determining the direction of anthropological research⁶²¹. The BNCT's creation and principles may have emulated BAE, but in the domain of its operations in the Philippines, changes to the discipline in the United States that were affecting the BAE may not have been adopted by the BNCT. Hence, the evolutionary and linear trajectory was used to explain the various stages of development of the Filipino races even until the end of the occupation. Secondly, the BNCT underwent a period of transformation in the administration that side-lined research on racial classification. The abolishment of an ethnological survey in the Philippines as part of a colonial policy spelt an end to the colonial government's direct participation in demarcating population.

The collaboration between the BNCT and the museum indicates that between colonial institutions with overlapping interests, there was room for incompatibility. The BNCT and the museum were highly interdependent; BNCT provided ethnological expertise, and the museum a space to store collected artefacts. The report of 1906⁶²² revealed the separation of 'Ethnological Survey' and the museum, followed by the abolishment of the BNCT, at this moment referred to as the Bureau of Ethnology, as a colonial bureau in 1914⁶²³. The redirection of all ethnological and scientific directions of the colonial government to be overtaken by private institutions was justified as a measure to control government expenditure and move the government's focus to administrative and legal matters. This is suggestive that science, which had been a significant part of American life in the Philippines a decade before, regressed as a tool to meet the colonial agenda.

Other branches of the civil government in the Philippines also, in their respective ways, contributed to the racial gap between the Christians and non-Christians, and between the Filipinos from the Americans. The networking between the BNCT and other bureaux translates the Anglo-Saxon sensibilities of the American administrators by perpetuating the racial hierarchy legitimised by the 'scientific' methods and theories of the BNCT. The creation of separate departments for the administration of the Cordillera, Sulu and Mindanao affirmed to the racialisation of territories⁶²⁴. The gap between racial groups was further enhanced, if not explicitly

⁶²¹ In Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: The Michigan University Press, 2000): 196- 240.

⁶²² *Report of the Philippine Commission 1906*, p.346.

⁶²³ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1914*, p.42.

⁶²⁴ Kramer, *Blood of Government*, pp. 208-209.

so, by the DPI and the Bureau of Health. These policies suggest that there were different priorities for areas with Christian majority and areas with non-Christian majority, and that socioeconomic developments took place at a slower pace in areas populated by mainly non-Christians. I argue that this contributed to the idea of racial taxonomy constructed by the Americans, and even the Spaniards before, specifically on the capacity of one race to be more civilised than the other. Here, the institutional interactions demonstrate that racial taxonomy is not only limited to scientific conceptualisation of race but it can take forms in the various ways racial groups were managed according to the underlying principle of evolution and a racial group place in a taxonomy of the human race.

The regression of BNCT's roles in the American administration did not abolish or replace the social structures established through the imperial and institutional networks and how racial categories continued to be governed. While research on racial classification was affected by the changes in anthropology and Filipinization, racial taxonomy perpetuated until debatably, the decades before the independence in 1946. It can be surmised that institutional interactions perpetuated the racial dichotomy despite altercations of institutional roles. This was because sentiments of racial differences remained critical in the formulation of policies by other colonial bureaux outside of the BNCT. The BNCT was crucial in the validation of the alleged innate differences between racial groups through methods that were taken as empirical and objective, but perception of differences were fostered beyond the realm of science. In the next chapter, I will introduce the censuses of the Philippine islands and explain how institutional interactions sustained the racial dichotomy and formalised the schematisation of racial and tribal groups.

CHAPTER 5: THE PHILIPPINE CENSUSES: FROM SCIENTIFIC TAXONOMY TO 'NATIVE VOICE'

5.1 Introduction: The Meaning of Census

'Census reports are curious texts', wrote Vincente Rafael¹, '...they contain no single author, for standing behind them is not a person, but the state apparatus...' Census is presented by colonial authorities as a neutral and accurate documentation of a country and its people. It preambles the development of a modern state, order and stability. It is an extensive compilation of data which serves to both explain the state to its members, and to inform the government executives of what the state contains. Patrick Simon, Victor Piché and Amélie A. Gagnon argue that the census reflects and affects social types prevalent in the region². Census structuralises the hodgepodge existence of racial types, creating categories with sets of criteria. The colloquial self-identification with which the local lives by is mixed with the scientific and pragmatic identification that the colonial administrators deem best to utilise. These different paradigms require serious negotiation in order to successfully be transformed into a product that appears objective and accurate³.

What then, is the meaning of census? How does it contribute to the historical narrative of racial classification in the Philippines? Rafael points out the intention of the census report—to stand as a modern state apparatus⁴. In the American-occupied Philippines, the census was regarded as the 'best source of knowledge' on the population and resources⁵. A 1905 issue of *The National Geographic* acknowledged the census as being 'the most comprehensive, and able description

¹ Vincente L. Rafael, 'White Love: Census and Melodrama in the United States colonization of the Philippines', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 8, no. 1-4, (1994): 265-297, p.269.

² Patrick Simon, Victor Piché and Amélie A. Gagnon, 'The Making of Racial and Ethnic Categories: Official Statistics Reconsidered', in *Social Statistics and Ethnic Diversity: Cross-National Perspectives in Classifications and Identity Politics*, edited by Patrick Simon, Victor Piché and Amélie A. Gagnon (Cham, Heidelberg, Dordrecht and London: Springer, 2016), pp.1-13, p. 4.

³ Talal Asad, 'Ethnographic Representations, Statistics, and Modern Power', *Social Research*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp.57-63.

⁴ Rafael, 'White Love', p.269.

⁵ Ibid.

of the peoples and geography of the islands that have yet appeared⁶. In constructing the meaning of the census in the historical narrative of the racial classification in the Philippines, the censuses of the islands can best be described as examples of what imperial and institutional networks can create through the interactions described in the previous chapters and how racial categories were consolidated through these interactions. The impression of the census's objectivity and accuracy does not reflect its latent functions—to identify the boundaries of colonial control, to facilitate policy-making in colonial setting and finally, to codify knowledge of colonial possessions⁷. In my own arguments, I will explore the role of the census as a colonial technology that re-affirmed and re-interpreted the racial classifications constructed by the BNCT. The census as a product is envisaged as a colonial technology due to its role in formalising, as well in some cases formulating racial categories. Therefore, the census ability to transform racial categories into formal, objective documentation of the population were potent tools used by the colonial administration to embed racialised policies in the legislation.

The census is a result of the negotiation process between state, society and science⁸. The censuses of the Philippines in this instance consisted of the multi-level interactions between the American colonial administrators, ethnological researchers and the indigenous population. It has been argued in previous chapters that the scientific classification used by the American administrators had many historical and political influences. What distinguishes the census from arguments made in the previous chapters is that in the Philippines censuses, the classifications were not only authorised by the state but also relied on the society—here referring to the colonised subjects—to gather data. The process of census taking, therefore,

⁶ 'A Revelation of the Filipinos', *The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 16, no. 4, (April 1905), pp.139-192.

⁷ See Scott Kirsch, 'Insular Territories: United States Colonial Science, Geopolitics and the (re)mapping of the Philippines', *The Geographic Journal*, vol. 182, no. 1, (2014), p.5; *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903* (Washington: Government Printing, 1904), p.433; Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no.3, (2006): 291-306, p.293; Peter Pels, 'The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines: Orientalism, Anglicism and the Emergence of an Ethnology of India, 1833- 1869' in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.83-5.

⁸ Rebecca Jean Emigh, Dylan Riley and Patricia Ahmed, *Changes in Censuses from Imperialist to Welfare States* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), p.11.

requires more participation from the Filipinos while operating more substantially under the prerogative of the state. In brief, census creates meaning for both the enumerated subjects and the authority doing the enumeration. The categorisation and formalisation here become a tool for power and legitimate representation of colonial authority. This chapter is an analysis of individual censuses and how, as a colonial technology, embedded and formalised racial classifications in the Philippines. First, I will discuss two key features of how these censuses performed as an instrument for colonial administration. Then, I will look into the process and the outcome of each census.

5.2 The Census as a Colonial Technology

The censuses of the Philippines performed as colonial technologies of subjugation and legitimisation of the United States. The censuses turned concepts of racial hierarchy into tabulated categories. Through the census, arguments made previously on the position of the Anglo-Saxon race amidst the Filipinos, or the application of Darwinism to explain racial differences can be traced in the subtle but profound ways censuses were handled and published in the Philippines.

There are two ways in which the censuses served to classify the population in the Philippines. The first is how the *censuses expressed colonial control* through the nation-wide enumeration process and the acquisition of extensive data on the country. Secondly, *the censuses formalised racial categories* through clear, tabulated presentation of tribal and racial groups in the Philippines. The systematic codification of the population, in consequence, affected a diverse group of census users on the constitution of racial categories in the Philippines.

The United States, directly and indirectly, proclaimed control over the Philippines through the censuses. The enumeration, categorisation and official recognition of the population as it appeared in the censuses of the Philippines islands has implication on the legitimacy of the American colonial government. This is mainly because the censuses, as a biopolitical project, defined the way different classifications of the population were recognised. Characterisation and delineation of Christians and non-Christians, in part, were crystallised in the tabulated format of the censuses⁹. The legitimacy of the American colonial government is also seen in

⁹ B.S. Butola, 'Census as an Instrument of Political Technology in the Age of Biopolitics', *Human Geography*, vol. 5, no.1, (2012): 42-62, p.45. See also Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism*

the 'effective occupation', exhibited through their ability to deploy resources in the Philippines to gather data and consolidate their findings in the census reports. Census enumeration, which entails an intense and thorough inspection of the colony created a perfect opportunity for the colonial administration to establish familiarity with the newly acquired territory¹⁰. These acts of organising and policing contribute to building the foundation of colonial administration and colonial knowledge on subjugated territories. The United States' knowledge of the Philippines acquired from the censuses mainly implied their biopolitical capacity to monitor life in the islands and assign an identity to the population.

The censuses of the Philippines created a perception of objectivity in the censuses enumeration, and the United States was seen as producing scientific and unbiased codification of the demographics¹¹. In Chapter 3, I have explained how members of the *ilustrados* encouraged German scientific participation in the Philippines in part because they were perceived to propose an empirically viable and objective alternative in studying the Filipinos and the islands' resources. German presence was encouraged in place of Spanish alleged bigotry and prejudice against the Filipinos¹². Similarly, the United States was performing the role of the benevolent and scientific ruler through the objective methods in the census enumeration. Hence, the United States was seen to be an antithesis to Spanish colonialism and a

and its Form of Knowledge: The British in India (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp.8-9.

¹⁰ Rafael, 'White Love', p.271; Elisabeth Cunin and Odile Hoffman, 'From Colonial Domination to the Making of a Nation: Ethno-Racial Categories in Censuses and Reports and their Political Uses in Belize, 19th-20th centuries', *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2, (2013): 31-60, p.36.

¹¹ David Darrow, 'Census as a Technology of Empire', *Ab Imperio*, vol. 4, (2002): 145-176, p.146.

¹² See Chapter 3. Also refer to Nathaniel Weston's PhD Dissertation, 'Scientific Authority, Nationalism and Colonial Entanglements between Germany, Spain and the Philippines, 1850 to 1900' (University of Washington, 2012); Resil B. Mojares, 'Jose Rizal in the World of German Anthropology', *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 41, no. 3/4, (2013): 163-194 and Marissa H. Petrou, 'Picturing Labor: Gender, German Ethnography, and Anticolonial Reforms in the Philippines', from J.M. Cho and D.T. McGetchin, *Gendered Encounters Between Germany and Asia: Transnational Perspective since 1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 85-108.

proprietor of a more enlightened chapter in the history of the Philippines¹³. The 'objective' and 'scientific' method, consequently, distanced the United States from the common attributes of racism and Eurocentrism of other imperial polities.

The appearance of empiricism and objectivity in the censuses was amplified by the use of photographs to substantiate written data and statistics in the reports. The United States subscribed to the abundant use of photographs, especially in the censuses of 1903 and 1918 as means to make descriptions of physical characteristics of the natives to be definite and clear to readers, and not merely a 'personal' observation of those who wrote the reports¹⁴. The use of photographs in the census reports of the Philippines was more than was conventionally found in the censuses of the United States¹⁵. This conviction attained from the inclusion of photographs shadows the reality of how the censuses were constructed from the idiosyncrasies of the colonial government and helped create a sense of cohesive control over the islands and peoples.

The censuses' capacity in formalising racial categories also characterises it as a colonial technology. The categories in the censuses of the Philippines did not divert from the facets of classifications presented in the exhibitions and formed by the BNCT, but it was definitely more widely known and official. This is in line with the intention of the United States to depict the Philippines as constituting what Bernard Cohn describes as an 'objectified social, cultural, and linguistic differences'. The 'picture of progress' was drawn from these acquired data, thus transforming uncertainties about the boundaries of tribal citizenships and ethnic identities of the Filipinos into state-assigned categories and overshadowed pre-existing notions of identities¹⁶.

The censuses of 1903 to 1939 are examples of how state-assigned categories were almost entirely accepted and replicated by the colonised population. The censuses of the Philippines through the period of over three-decades shows that the documentation of the population had affected the relationships between distinct

¹³ Also elaborated in Chapter 3.

¹⁴ Virginia R. Dominguez, 'When the Enemy is Unclear: US Censuses and Photographs of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from the Beginning of the 20th Century', *Comparative American Studies, an International Journal*, vol. 5, no.2, (2007): 173-203, p.176.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Cohn, *Colonialism and its Form of Knowledge*, p.8.

groups¹⁷. In the three American censuses of the Philippines, the division between the mestizos and the 'wild tribes', otherwise also known as Christians and non-Christian tribes were recreated through enumeration procedures and presented as an official statement of the differences that had initially existed only within the colonial worldview. Ultimately, groups that were recognised in the census received some form of validation, a signposting of its existence which the censuses, were never formalised through any state-endorsed document¹⁸.

The formalisation and augmentation of collective identities reflect colonial consciousness. The Americans in the Philippines began their occupation with an explicit acceptance of their position to be above and better than the Filipinos. Colonial consciousness, in this instance, was embedded into the population via the power of formalised identities, whereby the colonial ideas of population division and the more nuanced categorisation of tribes and ethnicities have the power to educate the Filipinos of their own tribal or racial groups. Despite the potency of the censuses, it is incorrect to assume that this 'consciousness' was stable and unchallenged. Each of the three censuses of the Philippines reflected the changing priorities of the United States administration of the islands, the theoretical development in anthropology, and even levels of Filipino input into the censuses¹⁹. The censuses maintained a practical, though not always consistent classification of race. The censuses were a form of 'soft' control over the population, with acquired records as a testament to the mass surveillance undertaken by the American administrators. The following sub-sections on individual censuses demonstrates the flexibility of the census as a colonial tool of control. The discussion will also bring forth the discrepancies in racial classifications that arose from the compromises between the ethnological and administrative classifications.

¹⁷ Cunin and Hoffman, 'Colonial Domination', pp.39-40.

¹⁸ Parallel to the circumstances in Malaya. See Sandra Manickam, 'Bridging the Race Barrier: Between "Sakai" and "Malay" in the Census Categorisations of British Malaya', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 38, no.3, (2014): 367-384, p. 380.

¹⁹ For census as manifestations of colonial consciousness, see Charles Hirschman, 'The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, (1987), pp.566-567 and Jason Mancini, "'In Contempt and Oblivion': Censuses, Ethnography, and Hidden Indian Histories in Eighteenth-century Southern New England', *Ethnohistory*, vol. 62, no. 1, (2015), pp.62-63.

5.3 The Three American Censuses of the Philippines

Analyses of the three censuses illustrate the degree of American intervention in the Philippines and how the ecological interactions interplayed between actors. The first census in 1903 was an entirely American project taken to fulfil colonial objectives. This was followed by the census of 1918 which reflected the political and social circumstances of American rule during the era of Filipinization. Finally, the census of 1939 was enumerated as part of a nation-building project just prior to the official date of Philippines' independence in 1946.

The three censuses were constructed with overlapping and revised motives between the Census Bureau and the anthropological branches of the civil government. From 1901 to 1916, the BNCT was the only official representative of American anthropology in the Philippines. This changed after the creation of the anthropology chair at the University of the Philippines in 1916²⁰. While anthropological research faced challenges from budgeting and structural reforms in the years 1908 to 1916, the Census Bureau and the BNCT, and later the University of Philippines had cooperated to form a taxonomy in the censuses. The cooperation came mainly in the ethnological reports written by the anthropologists working in either of these institutions. The reports, usually found in Volume I in the censuses, elaborate on the racial and tribal composition of the population. The non-ethnological components also consist of some form of classifications on racial groups, but did not conform to the considerations on ethnological criteria, such as culture and dialects, that are found in the ethnological reports²¹. These discrepancies are one form of how as a whole, the censuses displayed the idiosyncrasies of the American colonial government. On a more intimate analysis, the inconsistencies of racial classifications in the censuses were expressions of collaborations and negotiations between different institutions of the colonial administration.

The three censuses were organised to an ever-changing need of the colonial administration. The first census was required to explain the diversity of the island resources and population to the American administration. Decades later, the census of 1918 was constructed to revise and confirm data from the previous census. The final census of the Philippines endorsed and facilitated by the United States was

²⁰ See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the changing functions of the BNCT.

²¹ For example, the section entitled 'Color' in the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II: Population* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1905), pp. 44-45.

both a testament of Filipino journey to independence, and of the gradual departure of American control over the islands had in the organisation of the census and implicitly, of the people. The following sub-sections discuss these concerns in greater depths.

5.3.1 The Census of 1903: Consolidating Knowledge of the Philippines

In 1902, the American civil government in the Philippines established the Census Bureau under the Department of Public Instruction. Section 6 of the Act of Congress of 1st July 1902 stipulated that upon achieving peace, the Philippine Commission was to uptake presidential orders to take a census of the islands²². The first census taken was in 1903, which is alternatively cited as Census of the Philippines Islands 1905, revealing the date of its publication rather than its enumeration which took place between 2nd March to 1st May 1903²³. The first American census of the Philippines islands was published into four volumes:

- i. Volume I: Geography, History, and Population.
- ii. Volume II: Population
- iii. Volume III: Mortality, Defective Classes, Education, and Families and Dwellings.
- iv. Volume IV: Agriculture, and Social and Industrial Statistics²⁴.

The first volume contains some introductory information on the Philippines, including on ethnology and geography, and the organisation of the census committee. The notes on population describes the main characteristics that defined the Christians and non-Christians. The second volume starts with an introduction to the Spanish censuses of 1877 and 1887 and short comparative notes with the American census of the islands²⁵. The rest of the volume contains statistics on the population,

²² *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II*, p.11.

²³ *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903* (Washington: Bureau of Print, 1904), p.707; 'Census of the Philippine Islands', *The Watchman*, vol. 87, no.1, (1905): 6.

²⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume I: Geography, History, and Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p.5.

²⁵ The interconnectedness between Spanish records and the American administration is discussed in Chapter 3.

including comparison with other countries in Southeast Asia, the density of inhabitants per square mile and the proportion of people living along the coast and in the interior. Continuing from the characterisation of Christian and non-Christian population, the second volume includes data on the current number of each category of the population. The classification of tribes is in the second volume, as a supplement to the ethnological history written by David Barrows in the first volume. The tabulation of Christian and non-Christian tribes from the second volume is in this chapter (see Table 5-2 and Table 5-3). The second volume also enclosed the following intimation from the first director of the Census Bureau, General J.P. Sangers, on the three main challenges to taking a census in the Philippines²⁶:

- i. The doubtful peaceful conditions of the islands; although the Filipinos and Americans had agreed to a truce, there was still rebel presence in the interior that can cause potential harm to census personnel.
- ii. The absence of a reliable map of the islands, and
- iii. Selecting personnel; the Americans needed Filipinos who knew Spanish, the official language of the census, and several local dialects.

The employment of Filipinos was applauded as a positive reinforcement to ensure lasting cooperation between Americans and Filipinos. Under Spanish rule, the Filipinos were an exceptional entity, excluded from representations in church and imperial institutions²⁷. During the course of the independence struggle from Spain, the *ilustrados* campaigned for more inclusivity and recognition from the Spanish government²⁸. The United States stood as an antithesis to the former regime and were sympathetic to the politics of the *ilustrados*. The goal was mainly to win the trust of the Filipinos²⁹. However, the employment of the Filipinos in collecting the

²⁶ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II*, p.13

²⁷ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.36-37.

²⁸ See Chapter 3.

²⁹ Discussed in Chapter 3. Also refer to Warwick Anderson, "Science in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, 2007, vol. 55, no. 3: 287-318, p.299. Meanwhile, Kramer describes how colonial state-building at this juncture was essentially trying to pacify hostilities that erupted after the United States signed the Treaty of Paris in 1898. The position of the United States in the Philippines did not have any sovereignty over the Filipinos. Steps had to be taken to

census did not proceed without reservations. An excerpt from the *National Geographic* depicts the enthusiasm, but also the doubt the American administration had during the initial stages of the project:

Through the tactful diplomacy of General Sangers, however, the feeling of Filipinos was completely changed [from an adverse reaction to the census that reminded them of the taxation system during Spanish rule], and all of them seem to have joined in the competition to see who could most help with work. But though eager to help, the Filipinos had to be trained for the work, and this required more tact and time.³⁰

Eventually, a total of 7627 people were employed. The distribution according to nationality is illustrated in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 National distribution of personnel for the Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903³¹

Nationality	Number of Personnel
Americans	118
Filipinos	7502
Chinese	6
Japanese	1

The bulk of the employees were Filipinos, followed by Americans. Other nationalities, like the Japanese and Chinese were very small in number. The Filipinos were mainly appointed as enumerators and special agents³². Among the Filipinos employed were enlisted men that served in the Philippine army, scouts and provincial and municipal officers. The Filipinos also had to undergo another

stabilize Filipino-American relations. One of the aspects that had to be observed was the employment of Filipinos in the civil service. The Philippine Commission enacted Act No. 5, to establish a civil service system that included examinations for employee selection and classifications of positions. From Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.166-167.

³⁰ 'A Revelation of the Filipinos', pp.139-140.

³¹ Ibid, p.140.

³² *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume I*, p.16.

requirement before being fully absorbed as an employee for the Census Bureau—taking an oath of allegiance to the United States³³.

The affirmation that the census was a colonial technology re-emerges here. Colonisation, as Butola argues, is incomplete if it relies only on the use of force and explicit domination³⁴. The recruitment of Filipino army and scouts, coerced to display loyalty, sends a message to other Americans, Filipinos and external colonial entities, such as Britain and the Netherlands in neighbouring Malaya and Indonesia, that the American regime had complete and absolute control over the Philippines. This was exceptionally significant in the aftermath of the war between the Filipino nationalists and the United States' army. The initiatives taken during the selection of personnel were deliberate and politically strategic. The goal on the outset was that hiring Filipinos could be more economical than shipping more Americans to undertake the tasks, and to ensure smooth communication with the locals. It is inaccurate to assume that the census alone had pacified relations between Americans and Filipinos. The census did, however, contribute to the idea that Filipino engagement with a massive national project was a step closer in fulfilment of a devolved government for the Filipinos.

The next step was to form census schedules to guide the enumeration process. The scheduling process entailed creating tables that corresponded to existing categories for population, industries, land ownership, health conditions and many other measurable aspects. Statistical experts from the United States, as well as selected individuals with local knowledge were employed to design the schedules, such as provincial officers, local chiefs and native guides. This signified the second systematic attempt between the United States and the Philippines to converge American scientific expertise with local knowledge of the islands³⁵. The aim of the scheduling process was to create tabulated categories that most accurately depicted the geographical, ethnological and commercial constitutions of the islands. The scheduling began when the supervisors of every region or district met in Manila on 17th November 1903 for a briefing and were not completed until the assistant directors of the census, Henry Gannett from the United States Geological Survey, and Victor Olmstead from the Department of Agriculture arrived on the 1st of

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Butola, 'Census as Instrument', p.48.

³⁵ The first being the BNCT surveys, as elaborated in Chapter 4.

December 1903. The schedules on population were organised around two basic categories—Christians and non-Christians. Sangers wrote in the report:

In dealing with the Christians or civilized peoples it was decided to follow American methods of census taking...and in the enumeration of the wild, or non-Christian peoples, to follow any plan practicable³⁶.

The final enumerated number of the population was presented with special emphasis on Christian/ non-Christian dichotomy. This is exemplified in the form of a table included in page 14 of the census report in Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2. This division in both tables illustrated a clear and widely disseminated understanding of what constitutes the 'Philippine population'. In Figure 5-2, the coloured boxes to distinguish tribes were first clustered underneath the heading of 'civilized tribes' and 'wild tribes'. Only then, the multitude of colours was used to denote the individual tribes.

14 * POPULATION.

Philippines could be identified and the correctness of the punching verified.

The punched cards were passed through the Hollerith automatic electric tabulating machines. In this machine a series of electro-magnetically operated counters are arranged, according to the tables it is desired to compile, in electric connection with a circuit-closing device, the circuits through which are controlled by the holes in the punched record card.

By tabulating in this manner first one group of data and then another, with intermediate sorting by means of automatic sorting machines and arrangement of the cards, the various tables were obtained.

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS.

The following table presents in summary form the principal statistics concerning population:

Summary.

Total population	7,635,426	Birthplace—Continued.	
Civilized	6,987,686	France	121
Wild	647,740	Males	105
Sex:		Females	16
Civilized population	6,987,686	Other Europe	487
Males	3,496,652	Males	344
Females	3,491,034	Females	143
Birthplace:		Other countries	64
Philippine Islands	6,981,548	Males	64
Males	3,443,816	Females	20
Females	3,487,732	Color:	
China	41,055	Brown	6,914,880
Males	40,518	Males	3,435,848
Females	517	Females	3,479,032
Japan	921	Mixed	15,419
Males	475	Males	7,516
Females	446	Females	7,903
East Indies	241	Yellow	42,097
Males	211	Males	41,071
Females	50	Females	1,026
Other Asia and Oceania	108	White	14,271
Males	63	Males	11,450
Females	45	Females	2,821
United States	8,135	Black	1,019
Males	6,920	Males	767
Females	1,215	Females	252
Other America	83	Tribes:	
Males	56	Ata	2,941
Females	27	Bagobo	12,149
United Kingdom	697	Batak	586
Males	549	Bicol	566,365
Females	118	Bilan	6,756
Germany	368	Bukidnon	56,189
Males	344	Cagayan	159,648
Females	24	Igorot	211,520
Spain	3,888	Ilocano	803,942
Males	3,187	Ilongot	3,601
Females	701	Mandaya	21,642

Figure 5-1 The main racial classification in the Census of the Philippine Islands 1905³⁷.

³⁶ As cited in Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.224-5.

³⁷ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II*, p.14.

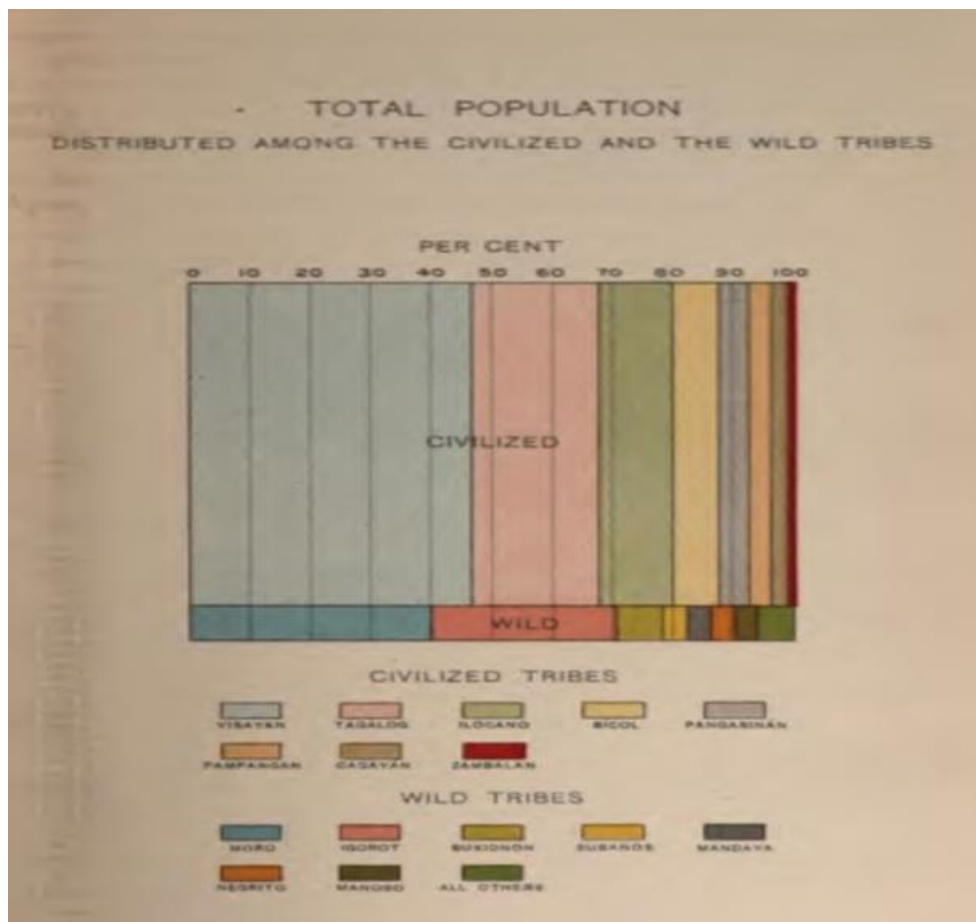


Figure 5-2 Distribution of 'civilized tribes' and 'wild tribes' in the Census of the Philippines Islands 1905³⁸.

The bureau formatted different schedules for the Christians and non-Christians. The schedule for the Christians focused on acquiring *individual* data on land ownership, education, and occupation, whereas the non-Christian were enumerated based on their villages or *rancherias*. The member of tribes were quantified based on the collective average of births, deaths, schools in the village, and economic activities. There was no clear justification given in the report³⁹, but weighing in on several variables an informal and restrained inference can be made.

³⁸ Ibid, p.17.

³⁹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume II*, pp.9-12. This claim arises from the absence of any explicit declaration on why there existed two schedules for the two groups. While Barrows seem to suggest that scheduling decision was made as a continuum of an existing social reality, read- the racial dichotomy of Christian/non-Christian, which was also anthropologically acceptable at that time, I take precaution from claiming that the decision made by the Census Bureau to be solely decided by Barrows when it seems very likely that Barrows wrote the article as a commentary of, rather than an instruction for, the census. The

As had been stated by Sangers, there were security issues in several areas, especially in the interiors that were unreachable by American soldiers⁴⁰. There was also an ongoing animosity with the Moros. The 'Moro problem', which prevailed even after an official declaration of peace in 1902, was mostly a result of the Muslim Moros' refusal to cooperate with Spanish authorities and evangelist missionaries, to subsequently regard the Americans with the same suspicions⁴¹. Moros were also associated with activities of violence, piracy and slavery⁴². It was warranted that the southern Philippine islands were areas of considerable risk for the enumerators. The presence of rebels in the hinterlands and the ongoing dispute with the Moros during the enumeration process may have justified the different schedules designed for the Christians and non-Christians.

While security issues provided a contextual explanation for different schedules for the Christians and non-Christians, an article by Barrows in the census report suggests that there was scientific validity, and not to mention historical precedence to the initiative. The Spanish civil censuses of the islands included only an estimate of non-Christian population. Prior to that, early Catholic orders only kept records of Christian population for purposes of baptism, marriage and death. The numbers in these records set off the American administrators with a rough estimate of the non-Christian population⁴³. In his report, Barrows identified the Christian tribes 'in its conversion and long subjugation to friar power', and he further acknowledged 'all parts of the islands have received similar grades of culture.' Barrows did not ignore the more nuanced differences that rested beyond the similar architectural, religious, political and social structure of the Christian tribes:

In spite of these facts, the population remained separate into practically the original tribes or groups, each speaking different

schedules were also mentioned in the *Reports of the Philippine Commission 1901-1903*, p.433 and p.707.

⁴⁰ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p.13-14.

⁴¹ As explained in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2, and Chapter 4, section 4.3.2; discussed extensively in Donna J. Amoroso, 'Inheriting the "Moro Problem": Muslim Authority and Colonial Rule in British Malaya and the Philippines', in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspective*, edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003):118-147, pp.122-125.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume II*, p.17.

idioms and feeling a strong separateness from the others. Each of these tribes has adhered closely to its own original habitat, although there has been some migration of Ilocano into the Cagayán valley and south into the Pagansinán, and small colonies of Tagálog have settled in certain towns in the Visayan islands.⁴⁴

On the contrary, the non-Christians were more diverse. Barrows wrote:

Errors in nomenclature prevail everywhere in the islands. Sometimes three or four different terms have been applied by different localities or towns to identical peoples, and all these designations have gone to swell the reputed number of Philippine Tribes⁴⁵.

The classification formulated under the jurisdiction of the BNCT had so far, taken into consideration the historical as well as the ethnological characteristics of the tribes. Despite having had clear criteria for each group, Barrows remarked that there was still work to be done on classifying due to the overlapping names for each tribe. Nonetheless, Barrows had also made radical revisions from the earlier classifications by Blumentritt, and the Jesuits (82 and 67 respectively), and the number of tribes was reduced to 16⁴⁶. The classification of Christian and non-Christian tribes are listed in Table 5-2 and Table 5-3 respectively.

⁴⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume I*, pp. 447-448.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 454.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp.468-476. These were classifications made during the Spanish rule. Blumentritt classified the Filipinos based on data gathered by informants, while the Jesuits was one of the evangelical orders that had a long history of doing scientific studies in the Philippines, beginning with the opening of Colegio de San José in 1601. See Anderson, "Science in the Philippines", p.291.

Table 5-2 List of Christian tribes as found in the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, volume II: Population*⁴⁷.

Zambalan	Tagalog
Visayan	Cagayán
Bicol	Pangasinán
Ilocano	Pampangan

Table 5-3 Classification of non-Christian tribes as listed by David Barrows in *Volume I, Census of the Philippine Islands 1905*⁴⁸

Moro	Mangyan
Igorot	Bilan
Bukidnon	Tagbanua
Subanos	Tiruray
Negrito	Ilongot
Mandaya	Ata
Manobo	Tagabili
Bagobo	Batak

In other, non-ethnological sections of the census, alternative system of classification emerged. The section entitled 'Color' in the second volume of the census, for instance, shows that 99 per cent of the Christian population belonged to the 'brown' race⁴⁹. Chinese and Japanese that made up six-tenths of 1 per cent of the population were 'yellow' and Negritos were 'black'. This was followed by a classification of the population based on skin colour for every province⁵⁰. In another example, the mortality rate was also colour-coded into white, brown, black and yellow⁵¹. The variances of classification terms and potentially, methods, implies that racial categorisation was pursued based on technical knowledge of supervisors assigned to every province, and was mirrored by the enumerators. Within the

⁴⁷ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p.35.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp.468-477.

⁴⁹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume II*, p.44

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.45.

⁵¹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905, Volume III: Mortality, Defective Classes, Education, Families and Dwellings* (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), p.26.

sphere of census work, classifications made by the provincial supervisors and the BNCT were disjointed and inconsistent. Barrows acknowledged this himself:

In Volume II of this report, a copy of the 'wild tribe' schedule will be found. Although this schedule called for a variety of statistics more or less interesting and desirable, it was thought that the most important fact to ascertain was the number of people, and to this everything else was made subordinate.⁵²

The scheduling affected how enumeration was performed. With such a clear-cut distinction between the Christian and non-Christian tribes the enumeration data ultimately provided the census with an alternative classification than the ones proposed by Blumentritt and the Jesuit priests. It also contrasted with the classification proposed by Barrows taken from BNCT research findings. The supervisors were instructed to create temporary divisions of their provinces to enable systematic enumeration. The instructions for territorial divisions do not necessarily run parallel to the territorial divisions in the ultimate guide for volunteer fieldworkers for the BNCT—the 1901 *Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers*. The second instruction given to fieldworkers in the *Circular* highlight this disparity:

2. Study and describe the habitat or territory occupied by the tribe. Does it follow one or more river or stream valleys?... If possible get the native name for each 'rancheria', 'sitio' or village and make a sketch map locating each, with notes as to hills, streams and trails⁵³.

Barrows recognized the territorial division that existed locally, marked by distinct geological and even cultural attributes. The fieldworkers that were assigned to identify and run a massive survey of the non-Christian tribes for the BNCT had to take notes of these demarcations and return the data to the bureau. While the administration had initiated its own territorialisation of the Philippines since the war, the BNCT divisions provide insight into ethnological, as opposed to parochially political, territories. On the contrary, the instruction given for the census goes as follows:

⁵² *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p.23.

⁵³ Barrows, *Circular*, p.10.

They [supervisors] were also required to bring with them the census maps ordered October 7, and lists of the municipalities and barrios, with their population, both Christian and non-Christian, as far as practicable⁵⁴.

This territorial division as employed by the census supervisors conformed to the existing provincial administration that was created at the beginning of the occupation. This form of territorialisation were in contrast to the geographical lines drawn by the BNCT, and thus suggests that local knowledge, here referring to territorialisation familiar to the locals, were replaced with the ones created by the American administration.

As a result of the enumeration, a number of 116 non-Christian tribes were identified by the Census Bureau. This did not sit well with BNCT's classification, which had simplified the number of tribes into 16. Comparing the list in the census with the ones BNCT made and the previous lists by the Jesuits and Blumentritt, Barrows concluded that the classifications in the census only partially aligned with BNCT's classifications, and that there were numerous cases of omissions and multiplicity in the census report⁵⁵. Barrow's frustration with the 'errors' in the census ethnological classifications is evident of the incompatibility between the classifications made in the census and by the BNCT⁵⁶. In the subsequent paragraphs of the report, Barrows commented on the correct ethnological classifications that mirrored classifications proposed by the BNCT⁵⁷. Barrow's report, which presumably was written after the enumeration and just prior to publication did not cause the Census Bureau to amend the enumerators' classifications in the report. Instead, the report merely complemented the data presented in the census.

Yet, neither did Barrow's tribal list or the enumerator's were found to be consistent with other reports on population that appeared in volume II of the census. Colour-codification indicates that the administration was inclined to present a simplified data in sections that were not directly concerned with anthropological works in the islands. The compromise that was reached between the BNCT and the census bureau appear in the multifarious display of racial classifications across the census

⁵⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1905 Volume I*, p.18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 468.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 454-450.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*.

reports. The ethnological categorisation in the census had established an official recognition of tribes. This is apparent in the subsequent two censuses. In this case, it can be argued that ethnological taxonomy of the population was still relevant in the formalisation of racial categories.

Through the employment of the Filipinos, the census of 1905 became a gesture of assimilation. It formed a contingent ground to nurture cooperation between the Americans and the Filipinos. As a finished product, the United States was able to declare that they had obtained, as described by *The National Geographic Magazine in 1905*, 'the most comprehensive, and able description' of the Filipino people⁵⁸. This had consolidated the United States' position in the region, especially with other imperial giants that had territories in Southeast Asia, i.e., Britain and the Netherlands.

5.3.2 The Census of 1918: Filipinization of an Americanized Census

The census of 1918 was the second census of the Philippines during American occupation and taken during a period of significant changes in the American administration of the Philippines. The census is often referred to as the *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920* denoting its date of publication, though some volumes were published in 1921. The census of 1918 was organised into four main volumes with an additional volume dedicated to the appendix of volume I. The census volumes are:

- i. Appendix to Volume I: Organization, Census Acts and Regulations.
- ii. Volume I: Geography, History and Climatology.
- iii. Volume II: Population
- iv. Volume III: Agriculture, Medicinal Plants, Forests Lands and Proper Diet.⁵⁹
- v. Volume IV consist of two parts:

⁵⁸ 'A Revelation of the Filipinos', p.139.

⁵⁹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume III: Agriculture, Medicinal Plants, Forests Lands and Proper Diet* (Manila: Census Office of the Philippines Islands, 1921). URL: <https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/1918%20CPH%20vol3.pdf>, accessed 5th February 2017.

- a. Part 1: Social and Judicial Statistics, Manufactures, and Household Industries
- b. Part 2: Schools, University, Commerce and Transportation, Banking Institutions and Currency and Insurance Company.⁶⁰

In this census, the regulations pertaining to census enumeration and organisation were compiled in a separate volume, which is Appendix to Volume I. Elaboration on scheduling process is found in volume I, including remarks by Governor General Harrison. He reflected on the errors made in the census of 1903, especially on the inaccurate enumeration of the non-Christian tribes. Most ethnological reports are in volume II of the census. Unlike the census of 1903, which disclosed ethnological data in two volumes, the census of 1918 compiled all ethnological report on the population into the second volume along with non-ethnological reports on the population, i.e., birth and mortality rate. This include a table denoting the total number of Christians and non-Christians in each province, a table showing the number of racial groups and their sexes, and a report on the non-Christian population of the Philippines by the chair of anthropology at the University of Philippines, H. Otley Beyer⁶¹.

Additionally, new developments also took place prior to the enumeration of the second census. The first development was the official recognition of the Special Provinces as territories with a large number of non-Christian population and in need of an alternative administrative structure. It started with the Department of Sulu and Mindanao in 1903, followed by the Mountain Province in 1908⁶². The other development was the phenomena of Filipinization in the government civil services that escalated after the enactment of the Jones Act of 1916. The enumeration took place on the 31st December 1918. In response to Filipinization, Harrison authorised

⁶⁰ Published in Manila, by the Census Office of the Philippine Islands in 1921. URL: <https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/1918%20CPH%20vol4%20Part%202.pdf>, accessed 5th February 2017.

⁶¹ *Census of the Philippines 1920 Volume II: Population* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), pp.99-110, pp.262-265, pp.266-307, pp.907-957.

⁶² See Chapter 4 for elaboration on the purpose and nature of the Special Provinces.

a committee for the census consisting mainly of and led by Filipinos⁶³. The appointed director of the census was Ignacio Villamor, and all the supporting assistant directors were also Filipinos with the exception of one American. The education reform under the United States colonial administration meant that more Filipinos were well versed in the English language. This allowed for the second change to the 1918 census—the use of English as well as Spanish as the *lingua franca* of the census.

The census committee did not entirely replicate the schedules of the previous census for enumeration, but sat down for a preliminary study of ‘the most appropriate methods to be adopted for the census’⁶⁴. Several regulations, laws and the boundaries of territories were revised in the 1918 census⁶⁵. The census committee spent seven months doing preliminary research, aimed at finding the most effective enumeration methods and revising the schedules of the earlier census. Harrison praised the census of 1903 for its use of scientific methods during enumeration, but cautioned that in 1903, there were still regions that were considered hostile to the Americans which meant that there were certain omissions and deficiencies⁶⁶. The census of 1918 seeks to remedy the lacuna created by the instability which prevailed during the enumeration of the 1903 census. It is important to emphasize that the census was not a precursor to Filipino independence, but a step towards a devolved government. Neither was it autonomous enough in its operations to support any notion that the census was an indigenous project as Harrison was still legally the highest authority to which all decisions in the census were referred⁶⁷.

The Census Bureau also made changes to the role of enumerators. In the census of 1903, all enumerators took charge of schedules in relation to population, agriculture and schools of their designated areas. In the census of 1918, the enumerators were

⁶³ *Census of the Philippines Islands 1920, Appendix to Volume I: Organization, Census Acts and Regulations*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), Appendix A. The policy of ‘Filipinization’, as discussed in Chapter 4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Census of the Philippines Islands 1920 Volume I: Geography, History and Climatology*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p.2.

⁶⁶ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume I*, pp.2-3.

⁶⁷ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Appendix to Volume I*, Act no. 2352, Section 6, p.438.

not only area-specific but also focused on particular categories. The census committee re-organized the enumerators into three groups:

- i. *Regular enumerators*: In charge of schedules relative to agriculture and population.
- ii. *Special enumerators*: Appointed from the Bureau of Education and Bureau of Health, to oversee schedules for schools and mortality.
- iii. *Special agents*: In charge of social statistics, manufactures and household industry.⁶⁸

The enumeration process involved forming an advisory board made of officials for each province. Exceptions were made with Manila and non-Christian provinces whereby the advisory board was not made compulsory. The role of the advisory board was to communicate with the Governor-General on census matters from their respective provinces and ensure that the people of the province cooperated with census officials⁶⁹. The negotiable status of the advisory board in the non-Christian provinces points to the direct involvement of the administrators in Manila in matters pertaining to non-Christian tribes. In the *Appendix to Volume I* of the census, in sections 11 of Act 2352: Regulations Governing Census Organization of 1918, the role of the advisory board was, on top of the aforementioned duties, was also to:

- i. divide the territories into as many inspection districts as best suited for the province,
- ii. assign these districts with inspectors and
- iii. be the auxiliary inspectors for these districts⁷⁰.

The description of duties of the advisory board points towards an initiative to mitigate regulation and direction from Manila, so long as it was not a non-Christian province. I further this argument with another provision in Act 2352 that read:

SEC. 8. For the purpose of the census, all subprovinces, except those comprehended in the Mountain Province, will be considered as independent provinces, each with its subprovincial advisory census board.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Census of the Philippines Islands 1920 Volume I*, p.8.

⁶⁹ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Appendix to Volume I*, Section 11, see p.439 and p.453.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp.452-454.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.455.

The independence here is in reference to the provincial administration. Among the consideration that may be given to the apparent status bestowed upon all provinces for census purposes are that inspectors, here referring to mainly Filipino inspectors, were allowed to follow the procedure of enumeration relatively free from the complexity that the non-Christian provinces were likely to have. The provinces of non-Christian tribes had to be studied and investigated before definite decisions could be made on how best to enumerate the population, and more importantly, how to classify them.

Furthermore, the advisory board could also be argued as continuing the premise of dichotomization of the population in the Philippines. In the second volume of the census report, Beyer offered a review to the definition of non-Christian in which he argued that the term is open to various interpretations that may run askew when applied to people of various stages of civilisational progress. In his understanding, the term is best suited for those 'really primitive peoples' and those that live in deep in the forests and mountains⁷². This understanding of what actually counts as non-Christian during the enumeration suggests that it is worthwhile to consider that the process occurs differently in the Christian provinces from the non-Christian provinces due to the conviction that certain areas required anthropological expertise. In the census of 1903, the enumeration of non-Christian was done by obtaining an overall number of people and average mortality rate in villages⁷³. The census of 1918 operated differently from the census of 1903 by intending to enumerate non-Christians individually, hence putting pressure on the enumerators to be more thorough in the enumeration process. However, the absence of an advisory board in non-Christian provinces can only mean that any *ad hoc* decisions in enumeration had to be referred to Manila. The following anecdotal evidence provides insight into the enumeration process in non-Christian areas.

There were difficulties in obtaining skilled workers to enumerate in the Special Provinces. In 1903, enumeration in the Cordillera was entrusted to the military personnel that were locally based when the area of inspection was considered high-risk. In 1918, census enumerators in the Cordillera took the initiative to employ

⁷² *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume II: Population* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p.908.

⁷³ The average numbers were considered as an example of the inaccuracy of the 1903 census. The comparisons between the census 1903 and 1918 are made in *ibid*, p.23 and *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume I*, p.3.

residents from the neighbouring provinces that were still within the same region. The census report showed 80 out of 471 census enumerators to be Igorots, some 'educated up to high school'⁷⁴. A similar situation was encountered in Mindanao. The residents of Sulu and Mindanao were mostly unable to converse in Spanish and/or English. The inspectors had to appoint Christian residents from the province of Zamboanga to enumerate, while Moro chiefs acted as auxiliary enumerators⁷⁵. In both of these regions, the Census Bureau employed 'local experts' that borrowed from neighbouring provinces or municipalities. While indeed there was an instance whereby those native to the provinces were able to assist with the enumeration, in many cases the bureau had to resort to the use of 'foreign' help. This may increase the probability of discrepant approach in categorisation of tribes in the province. The use of natives outside provincial or municipal border may increase Manila's intervention. Manila had to monitor these 'external assistance' to ensure standardisation in the enumeration process. Unlike provinces that had advisory boards, the non-Christian provinces which had no such representation from local census board relied on Manila for decisions. The employment of natives from outside the province only pushes the census board from the capital to intervene in the enumeration process.

The racial classifications in the 1918 census, just like its predecessor, contained ethnological as well as non-ethnological elements. The ethnological elements were almost always found solely in the special report provided by the anthropological authority assigned to write on the general ethnology of the Philippines. The non-ethnological classification schemes opted for colours and nationalities in place of ethnologically favourable terms like 'Negritos' and 'Malay'. These schemes usually appear outside of the ethnological report in the first volume. At the time of writing for the census, Beyer was head of the anthropology department at the University of Philippines. His work was based largely on existing literature and surveys that he worked on with the help of his students. The survey data was coalesced into the second volume of the census as an article on population and ethnology. However, the different terms of classifications and categorisation used in other parts of the census reflected that the administration's organisational needs prevailed over the 'science' advocated in anthropology. Beyer organized the population into three large

⁷⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume I*, p.9.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.17 and p.23.

groups—Malays, Indonesians and pigmies, and added to the characteristics of the following details:

- i. *Pigmies*: including Negritos, straight-haired Mongols (proto-Malays)
- ii. *Indonesians*: tall, migrated from the Indonesian islands.
- iii. *Malays*: shorter, more Mongoloid than the Indonesians. Malays are divided into pagans, including semi-civilized Tingguians, Bontocs, Igorots and Ifugao; and Mohammedans in seven ethnic groups found in the southern islands of Sulu and Mindanao⁷⁶.

In volume II, Beyer also classified the non-Christian population into religious groups, and stated the latest total for each:

- i. Pagans: 402 790
- ii. Muslims: 372 464
- iii. Buddhists: 740⁷⁷

Colour-based categorisation was used in other parts of the census. According to the second volume of the report, under the section on 'Race', 98 per cent of the population belonged to the 'brown' race, while 0.4 per cent were half-castes (mestizo)⁷⁸. Another example is illustrated in a table entitled 'Proportion of Various Races'. The table was constructed to depict the percentage of each colour-group in the years 1903 and 1918. The population was divided into five groups: brown, yellow, half-breed, white and negro⁷⁹. The census committees used different categorisations than from the ones proposed by Beyer⁸⁰. The census board's preference for a clear, colour-based categorisation can be understood as an initiative to simplify the overlapping tribal and racial criteria accepted in anthropology, which takes into consideration various cultural, lingual and other phenotypical criteria. Yet, this explanation is arguable. The first and foremost point of contention would be the lucidity that Beyer presented in both his article in the census report and *The Population of the Philippine Islands of 1916*. A division of the

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.41 and *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume II*, p.908.

⁷⁷ *Census of the Philippine Islands 1920 Volume II*, p. 907. The total number of non-Christian population enumerated were 821 982 or 7.97 per cent of the total population.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 31.

⁷⁹ Ibid, Table 5, p. 262.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 907-908.

population to 'Malay', 'Indonesian' and 'pigmies' is relatively simpler than Barrows' racial categories, were undoubtedly more pragmatic for the census. Yet, this option was also disregarded by the census committee.

Filipinization may have affected the preferred classification scheme. From 1914, more and more Filipinos were employed as administrators. A comparison with the census of 1939 affirms that there were similarities in how Filipinos were presented in the census. The probable justification is that over-focusing on tribal differences could detriment nationalistic agenda. This may indicate that colour-coding the population seemed less intrusive to ethnic and tribal identity than the designation of tribe names to a particular group of peoples as opted by Barrows. The census of 1918 clearly reduced the focus on ethnological classifications from the census of 1903, and instead utilised historical categorisation.

This preference relates to how ethnology was fundamentally understood as a colonial 'science'. Parallel to the efforts of the BNCT to understand and educate the colonial communities with knowledge of the indigenous peoples of the Philippines, there existed the native voice; to borrow the phrase used by Shamsul A.B. and Athi S.M. the 'everyday-defined social reality'⁸¹ which may have clashed with or imposed stringently in otherwise fluid tribal citizenships. The census of 1918 stood at a critical point in the Philippines' road to devolution, nationalism and cooperation with the United States. The Filipinos were hopeful but realistic to the barriers between them and independence. Division in the population, so explicitly labelled as Christian/civilized and non-Christian/wild tribes only fuelled to challenge the idea of a consolidated Filipino government. This entailed blurring the colonial demarcation between the Christians and the non-Christians⁸². Gradually, the years to come would bear witness to the United States eventual relinquishing hold on the region. The census of 1939 would attest to the Filipino devolution and the gradual departure of American imperial regime in the Philippines.

⁸¹ Shamsul and Athi, 'Ethnicity and Identity Formation', p.268.

⁸² One instance of the depiction of unity desired by Filipino is in the document entitled 'Project: Philippines: A First Class World Power' allegedly written by Apolinario Mabini. Mabini was a formidable voice in Filipino struggle for independence during Spanish colonialism. The title of the document hinted at the spirit of one race and one nation that Filipino politicians were trying to configure for the Philippines. From Beyer-Powell Correspondence 6th January, 1956, Ifor B. Powell Collection, PPMS 26/1/2, Files 1-4, SOAS Special Collections.

5.3.3 The Census of 1939: Nation-building and Record of National Wealth

From 1935 the Philippines was given the mandate of a Commonwealth government. While the islands were still occupied by the United States, it was granted more autonomy. Keeping in line with the policy of benevolent assimilation, the formation of the Commonwealth government was the American way of guiding the Philippines towards a gradual but certain independence. The Commonwealth government progressively articulated plans for nation-building, and that included the acquisition of the latest data of the population and economic potentials in the country⁸³. On the 12th November 1936, the first National Assembly of the Philippines, through the Commonwealth Act no.170, passed a bill for a census to be taken.

This development was the catalyst to the most prominent disparity between the census of 1939 with the previous censuses—the overt declaration for nation-building. The main reason was to equip the government with updated social and economic information on the Philippines and for ‘reconstruction and reorientation of the Philippines.’⁸⁴ Nation-building was the core agenda. President Manuel Quezon appointed an Expert on Census Matter from the United States Bureau of Census to advise on preparation of schedules and other preliminary research works, but the census committees and staff were mainly Filipinos. The enumeration took place on 1st January 1939⁸⁵. Out of the five volumes, only four volumes safely made it out of the Philippines before the Japanese invasion in December 1941, and was shipped and proofread in the United States. Two of the volumes were published in 1940, and the remaining two published in 1941. The organisation of the volumes are as follows:

- i. Volume I: Population (published in 1940).
- ii. Volume II: Summary for the Philippines and General Report for the Census of Population and Agriculture (published in 1941).
- iii. Volume III: Census of Agriculture (published in 1940).
- iv. Volume IV: Report of the economics. Never published.

⁸³ *Census of the Philippines: 1939, Volume II: Population* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1939), pp. 8-9.

⁸⁴ ‘The Philippines’, *Population Index*, vol. 8, no. 1, (1942): 3-9. p.3.

⁸⁵ Llyod S. Millegan, ‘Census of the Philippines: 1939’. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, (1942): 77-79, p.77.

- v. Volume V: Census Atlas of the Philippines, with map of the Philippines and map of each province (published in 1941).

The organisation of the 1939 census is relatively simpler than the first two censuses, mainly due to the absence of specific volumes on health, education, and industries. Instead, focus is given to census of the population and agriculture. All the surviving census volumes were edited and stored in the United States.

The census board reported several challenges and limitations to its operation. The most prominent challenge was the socio-cultural characteristics of the population. 'Universal education', referring to the English-language based education that was implemented at the start of the American occupation, had yet to reach all Filipinos equally during the census enumeration. English and Tagalog were not spoken by everyone, and many tribes and groups were only familiar with their own dialects. This had prevented enumerators from gathering details from every single individual, as most enumerators were Tagalog and English speakers. Moreover, the fact that many Filipinos had not received the education and training required to become permanent staff on the census was recognised as a factor that prevented a cohesive collection of data⁸⁶. Therefore, the racial categorisation which appeared in the census of 1939 did not represent the complexity and nuances of many social and economic criteria for both the Christians and non-Christians.

The census recorded 16 million people in the Philippines, including non-Christians, during the time of enumeration. There was a robust interprovincial migration in the period between the second and the third census, which had caused massive changes to the total number of population in areas of considerable developments such as Luzon, while population in Mindanao increased due to the relocation policy of Christians from Luzon and other islands to Mindanao from 1902 until the 1930s⁸⁷. The upsurge of cultural exchanges and interracial marriages did not prevent a schematic colour-based classification being employed in the 1939 census⁸⁸. The population was described as 'homogenous' and echoing Barrows three decades

⁸⁶ *Census of the Philippines: 1939 Volume II*, p.9.

⁸⁷ Lisa Huang, Victor Musembi and Ljiljana Petronic, 'The State-Moro Conflict in the Philippines', *INAF*, 5439, (June 21, 2012): 1-11, p.2. URL: <https://carleton.ca/cifp/wp-content/uploads/1392-1.pdf>. See also Chapter 4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp.5-6. The interprovincial migration saw a rise in the number of people speaking more than one dialects. This can point out to various other form of cultural fluidity that were not accounted for in the census.

earlier, was entirely of a Malayan origin. This description was substantiated by the following classification in Table 5-4:

Table 5-4 Classification of racial groups in the *Census of the Philippines 1939*, volume II⁸⁹

Colour	Percentage
Brown	98.5
Yellow	0.9
White	0.1
Negrito	0.2
Mixed	0.3
American Negrito } Race not Reported }	< 0.1 per cent

As depicted in Table 5-4, the colour-categorising system remained. There are interesting details in this census that set these categories apart from the previous censuses. *First, the use of the term 'Negrito' in place of 'Negro'.* In the previous censuses, it is evident that Negrito was referring to a specific tribal group identified by a set of criteria such as skin colour, small physique, and their nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. The term Negrito was an ethnological parlance, an umbrella terminology with pluralistic associations to various, rather than a single tribe⁹⁰. Negrito was often substituted for 'black' in 1903 and Aeta, pigmy or Negro in 1918. In the census of 1939, the use of the term Negrito overshadowed the vagueness and universalism found in the previous censuses and replaced it as a reference to a particular tribe that was distinctly known by the name. Negrito no longer comprised an assemblage of tribes that were also recognised by many other synonymous labels but stood as a unified group. This potentially suggests that the categorising schemes of previous censuses were utilised and simplified to amalgamate the tribes

⁸⁹ *Census of the Philippines 1939 Volume II*, p.393. I opt not to include the original image of the table due to the poor quality of the photograph.

⁹⁰ Sabino G. Padilla, "Anthropology and GIS: Temporal and Spatial Distribution of the Philippine Negrito Groups," *Human Biology*, vol. 85, no.1-3, (2013): 209-230, p.210. Padilla named the Aeta, Ayta, Ati and the Bataks as member of the Negrito race.

associated with the group Negritos; or it may be a political move, for a unified group in the census presented a less problematic entity to the nationalists' agenda⁹¹.

Secondly, the report in the *Population Index* also described the Filipinos being 'homogenous', something rarely used in early anthropological and administrative works on the islands⁹². The homogeneity was alluded to the 'Malayan origin', denoting to 'brown' group which forms 98.5 per cent of the population⁹³. This instantly puts Malayan as the only dominant race in the Philippines, an approach not openly taken by Barrows and Beyer in earlier censuses⁹⁴. The 1939 census had dismissed the classification used in previous censuses, and ignored the division of race, ethnicity, religion, tribal association and/or dialects that formed that 98.5 per cent. The choice to classify the overall population as being 'Malayan' may have been a conscious statement of national unity.

The overall categorisation applied in the census of 1939 reflected the national spirit of the era. While the division of the Christian and non-Christian were retained in this census, many nuanced details that were elaborated by anthropologists in the previous censuses were marginalised, and failed to re-appear in the non-ethnological sections. This statement is especially true when comparing the census of 1939 with the census of 1903. The decline of references to tribal citizenship and phenotypes in every census shows contrasting interests and focus between the colonial and national administration. The intentions of the 1939 census are best described by Secretary to the President, Jose B. Vargas:

...furnish the Commonwealth and its citizens with an accurate survey and detailed account of not only the number, location, increase, and characteristics of the people, but also of their social, cultural, and economic characteristics.⁹⁵

⁹¹ The declaration of Tagalog as a national language post-Independence was also executed with similar intention to unite, and to the non-Christian tribes, suppressed the individuality of their culture. See McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place', p.298.

⁹² See Barrow, *Circular*, p. 2.

⁹³ Filipinos and Malays were principal races belonging to the 'Brown' group. As stated in *Census of the Philippines: 1939 Volume II*, p.14.

⁹⁴ Move which, as I have explained in Chapter 4, were focused on tribal identities, and not the homogeneity of population.

⁹⁵ *Census of the Philippines 1939 Volume II*, p.8.

The census of 1939 was a reclamation gesture. It enabled the Filipinos who were previously classified by the presentation of racial categorisations to progress and design a census for their own. However, the census of 1939 also projected many elements found in previous censuses, thus posing a challenge to nation-building efforts. Several ethnological nomenclatures, such as the Christians/non-Christians designations, and the term 'Negritos' were continuously used as it became the norm for census classifications. The persistence of these categories are examples of the prevalence of colonial racial classification amidst the era of de-colonisation and national reconstruction.

5.4 Conclusion: Census as Part of the Racial Narrative

The American regime in the Philippines was transfixed on multiple motives. The first was to maintain a sense of order and a systemization of society. Next, to earn the trust of the Filipinos as they attempt to comb out the tangle of complex identities that must have seemed perplexing to foreign eyes and logic. This chapter demonstrates through the three American censuses of the Philippines, that these motives governed their participation in the identification and organisation of racial groups. For this reason, anthropological studies were important initiatives of the colonial administration. It warranted that observations must be made with a degree of neutrality and adhering to the principles of science. Anthropology and the census together re-interpreted core ideas that conceptualised race as scientific into a irrefutable presentation of coherency, empiricism and objectivity. If Anglo-Saxon was mobilised as a consolidating sentiment that justified the occupation, the census, aided by the scientific racial strata formed by the BNCT re-affirmed the 'external reality' concocted by the proponents of the sentiments. The censuses presented a stratified and quantified depiction of the Philippines that eliminated the ambiguity of 'sentiments' and 'ideas'.

The anthropological components of the American administration and the censuses additionally performed the tasks of balancing out administrative demand for organising the heterogeneous information on the population in the most scientifically acceptable manner as was possible. Where the BNCT opted to churn out a vast collection of publications focusing on the specificities of non-Christian/ 'wild tribe' category of the population, the census took this observation into account and transformed the entirety of the population into classifications and categories in schedules. Elements of culture and language, overlapping historical, political, social

and religious experiences were 'flattened-out' to decisive, uncompromising boxes and slots of tribe names, dialect spoken, property owned and level of education. Where the BNCT lacked in numbers and statistics to corroborate its findings, the census remedied the void by employing an army of enumerators and inspectors to acquire statistical data on the Philippines.

The BNCT and the Census Bureau's collaboration produced a categorical scheme which reflected separate priorities and goals. The BNCT categories incorporated linguistic and cultural considerations. In 1903, Barrows provided a long list of tribal groups found in the Philippines which he amalgamated from the BNCT's surveys. He compared his list with the ones made by Jesuit priests and Blumentritt in the century before and proposed a simplified version that still adhered to ethnological criteria. In 1918, Beyer revised the categorical schemes by omitting the list previously placed in the 1903 census report and grouped the Filipinos into Indonesians, Pygmies and Malays based on the migration theory discussed by Blumentritt and German scholars who worked in the Philippines before. He also included religious categorisations that demarcated the population into Christians, pagans and Muslims. This was not seen as a replacement for the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy, but a complementary detail. In the census of 1939, the Malay/Negrito/ Indonesian categories ceased to prevail, as the ethnological sections focused on the Malay roots of the Filipino people. The census authorities preferred colour-based categories for the population. From the census of 1903 to 1939, they were classifying the racial groups into 'Brown', 'White', 'Black' and 'Yellow'. These categories did not appear in the ethnological section of the censuses' reports, but in under the section on 'Color' or 'Race'. More nuanced categories appear in 1918 and 1939, specifically 'Mestizo' or 'half-breed'. The existence of these categorical schemes did not entirely explain or complement the other, but they worked well to disseminate knowledge on the Philippines.

More importantly, each census applied a categorical scheme which reflected first, the underlying colonial assumptions on the position of each category of the Filipinos measured against the colonisers; second, the dominant theoretical framework that guided anthropological research; and finally, methods that were considered legitimate in delineating racial groups at the time. This is especially true for the census of 1903 and 1918, which were in many ways, Americanized. The era of Filipinization that occurred during the enumeration of the census of 1918 did not limit the enthusiasm and detail Beyer invested in the ethnological report. The census of 1939 were more focused on unifying the Filipinos. The report indicates that the

census was careful not to include nomenclatures that can potentially highlight and produce demarcating points between Filipinos, especially at such a critical time just before independence. Overall, the nuances and simplification of racial classifications in each census were parallel with state goals and equally loyal to scientific trends.

The analysis of the American censuses in the Philippines leads to inquiries on censuses after independence in 1946, precisely on the forms and fashion of census categorisations that perpetuated from colonial practice. The idea is not to claim a direct continuity of racial classification methods, but instead to argue that the post-independence censuses availed to a system that gradually distances itself from archaic classifications in the name of national progress, yet at the same time, adhere to the recognition of unique qualities of the distinction between Christians and non-Christian, and subsequently, of every tribal group in the Philippines. An example is found in the *Enumerator's Manual, Census of Population: 1995*⁹⁶ and its definition of ethnicity: '...an individual [is] synonymous to the mother tongue or the language/dialect spoken at home at earliest childhood'. In another document, the second volume of the *Census of Population and Housing 2000*⁹⁷, the scope of the census should cover classifications based on socio-demographic characteristics, religious affiliation, age, sex and ethnicity⁹⁸. The identification of one's ethnicity is made through question no. v122: 'How does _____ classify himself/herself? Is he/she Ibaloi.... Ilocano or what?'⁹⁹. This suggests that modern censuses form of ethnic identification is democratically applied rather than coercively placed by ethnological experts and administrative authorities.

The three American censuses of the Philippines, as data and as a process of interaction, formed concluding and complementing element to the narrative of racial classification in the Philippines. It was supported by the BNCT surveys, and after the census of 1903, had contributed to the continuation of ethnological studies in the country. As a published material, it provided a substantial and simplified version of racial categorisation, which ethnographic nuances were silenced in the name of

⁹⁶ Published by the National Statistics Office (Manila, 1995), p.7.

⁹⁷ Also published by the National Statistics Office (Manila, 2000). See link: http://psa.gov.ph/psada/index.php/catalog/54/data_dictionary#page=F5&tab=data-dictionary, accessed 3rd December 2017. Also see Weena Gera, 'The Politics of Ethnic Representation in Philippine Bureaucracy', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 39, no.5, (2016): 858-877.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

clarity. As a process, the selection of personnel, the procurement of data and the scheduling of the censuses were all technology of categorisation, quantification and designation of identities. Censuses separate identity from biography and create social types that are a reflection, and implication of political and historical situations¹⁰⁰. The population structure was agreed upon by both Americans and Filipino—this sense of ‘acceptability’ of the structure meant that the censuses were symbolic of the power-relation between the imperial entity and the colonial subjects.

The censuses discussed in this chapter are remarkable documents. Within a space of few hundred pages and many hands which took part in its conception, enumeration and tabulation, a cohort of participants were bound to a narrative of racial construction. The colonial actors envisaged a realm in which they were experts, and in control, of both the population and the data representing the population. The simple way which the census categorised race, in this case, offers no explanation as to the condition of identity for colonised subjects. Can colonial bodies then, become what the texts directs it to be?

¹⁰⁰ Simon, Piché and Gagnon, 'The Making of Racial and Ethnic Categories', p.11.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Contributions of Research

This study aims to explain the different form of racial classifications and taxonomy in the Philippines during the American occupation from 1898 to 1946. The focus is on multifarious interactions between imperial and institutional actors that shaped the way race was administered, researched and categorised in the Philippines. Interactions in the imperial and institutional networks were built on mutual sentiments of Anglo-Saxon superiority, while the scientific study of race in the Philippines were guided on the universal appeal of Darwinism and evolutionary theory during the nineteenth to early twentieth century. The American administration categorised the population into Christians and non-Christians, followed by a nuanced classification based on tribal memberships. This form of schematisation consequently leads to the sustainment of a taxonomy formed on the understanding that the Christian tribes were more 'civilised' than the non-Christian tribes.

My focus in this thesis are on the interactions between Spain, Germany, Britain and the United States. The interactions between imperial polities is termed in this work as the 'imperial network', extending beyond the geo-historical perimeter of the American administration of the islands and encompassing ideas, sentiments, and knowledge on scientific ideas and practices. Racial taxonomy in the Philippines was partly inspired by the Americans' embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon sentiment. In chapter 2, I have illustrated how the scientific endeavour to classify the population in the Philippines was supplemented with the innate understanding that the Anglo-Saxon race was superior to the racial groups in the Philippines. Intellectual discourses between Britain and the United States and the ideological support the United States received at the advent of their occupation of the Philippines were a testament to the Anglo-Saxon sentimentality that was cultivated between the two imperial powers. While previous studies had discussed the Anglo-Saxon sentiments between Britain and the United States as an impetus to the annexation of the Philippines¹, I argue that these sentiments were only a part of the factor behind the classification of the population in the Philippines.

¹ For instances, see Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines 1898-1902* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Paul A. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between British and US Empires, 1880-1910,' in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne Foster (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): 43-91.

In chapter 3, I discuss further the interrelation between colonial entities in the imperial network. For example, Spain and Germany interacted decades prior to American annexation through German-speaking scholar's research in the Philippines. The infiltration of German ideas on anthropology and race had significantly influenced Filipino nationalists to reflect their position vis-à-vis their Spanish occupiers. The racial taxonomy that had governed Spanish-Filipino relationship for three centuries was actively questioned, threatening the prevalent narrative of the superior colonialists-versus-the inferior native. Concurrently, intellectual exchanges were made between the United States and Germany. From the early nineteenth century, American students had travelled to Germany to receive medical training and brought many scientific theories and methods home. The advancement of medical sciences in the United States by the end of the nineteenth-century impacted the development of anthropology. American-based anthropologists like Daniel Brinton and Franz Boas were trained in the German empirical approach to research, and American anthropologists continued ethnological studies in the Philippines with similar positivist worldview as the Germans. The merger between German research in the islands and the studies by American researchers who inherited the German model by virtue of their education and training consequently determined how racial classification was formed by the BNCT, and later, the University of the Philippines.

Racial taxonomy was not only formulated to meet administrative needs of the American administration. My findings show that the classification of the population was largely motivated by the scientific curiosity of the imperial entity. The BNCT, which was the leading institution responsible for the schematisation of the population, was established in 1901 by the American civil government to organise the diverse natives of the Philippines, particularly the non-Christian population. The BNCT employed the use of nationwide surveys to gather ethnological data and systematically organised these data for legislative and administrative purposes. The analysis of government reports and the BNCT's guide for fieldworkers² indicates that there precise scientific methods were used to gather ethnological data in the Philippines. I have demonstrated in Chapter 4 how the BNCT employed different techniques to determine the racial categories of different peoples, including

² Specifically, *The Bureau of non-Christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1901), by David Barrows. Available online:

<https://archive.org/stream/ahz9219.0001.001.umich.edu#page/12/mode/2up>

anthropometry, ethnography and photography. These methods reflected the aims of the BNCT to acquire empirical evidence which facilitated categorisation of the population into racial groups.

The censuses of the Philippines are significant examples of how scientific and administrative racial classifications were synthesised and presented as a formal documentation of the population. This entailed the use of different terms to indicate 'racial' categories, such as colours, nationality and tribal names. I argue in Chapter 5 how the censuses, the administration and the BNCT compromised 'scientific' racial classification in order to illustrate a comprehensive and accessible categorisation of the population. I classify the contents of the census reports into two types—the ethnological component, which are reports on population by the BNCT, and the non-ethnological components, which consisted of reports on health, education and housing. In the ethnological component of the census reports, the emphasis was given on the name of tribes, the history of population migration into the Philippines, and how each tribe evolved from the geopolitical setting they came from to the ones they have settled in. Additionally, the BNCT provided an overview of key characteristics of the non-Christian tribes, such as their physical appearances and their cultural attributes. The non-ethnological component of the census reports used colours and nationalities to denote racial composition. While it is incorrect to assume that the non-ethnological components overwhelmed the racial classifications presented in the ethnological components of the census reports, it does imply that the administration outside of the jurisdiction of the BNCT³ was inclined to present a simplified racial taxonomy of the population that does not always agree with anthropological findings.

In addition, I argue how each census—from 1903, 1918 to 1939 gradually separates itself from the use of terminologies to distinguish the Christian from the non-Christian population. I propose Filipinization and nationalism as significant factors in determining the presentation of racial categories in census schedules. The census of 1903 can be considered the most 'Americanized' census—it was enumerated to acknowledge the peace that was achieved between the United States and Filipino rebels that were at war from 1899 to 1902. The focus of the census was to collect a complete record of colonial possessions, here referring to the islands' population and resources. The census of 1918 was enumerated during a period whereby the

³ Or in the case of the census of 1918 and 1939, the University of Philippines. The circumstances for the changing ethnological authority is explained in Chapter 4.

American administration were actively increasing the number of Filipino staff in government offices. The intensification of Filipino participation in the government from 1914 to 1920 was also known as the era of Filipinization. The Census Bureau was affected by the increased Filipino participation, and it welcomed its first Filipino census director to lead the enumeration. While it was true the era of Filipinization did allow for a greater Filipino participation in the census enumeration, the ultimate prerogative belonged to the United States. Yet, classifications in the census shows there was an evolved approach to racial categorisation. Specifically, the census of 1918 was more focused on establishing distinctions between the 'three racial groups'—the Malays, the Indonesians and the Pygmies—and did not repeat nuanced ethnological component of the previous census. The final census under American rule was the census of 1939, and was enumerated under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth government. The Commonwealth government was formed as an interim government before an official announcement was made on the independence of the Philippines from the United States in 1946. At the time, all official posts in the government were held by Filipinos. Unlike the two previous censuses, the census of 1939 presented Filipinos as a single unit—the Malays. While this does not replace the colour-based categorisations, there were fewer discussions in the census report on the different tribes or racial groups of the Philippines.

The manifold of ideas and sentiments that transpired from imperial politics to institutions is evident in the idiosyncrasies of racial categories found in the census reports. The census was perceived by the American administration and the colonised subjects to be the most objective and accurate data on the Philippines. From the census, Anglo-Saxon sentiments, Darwinism, perceived universality of racial classifications and institutional collaborations became apparent and were in some ways, challenged. The censuses manifested different forms of taxonomy and reaffirmed classifications made by the colonial government. Due to its ability to effectively formalised racial categories, the censuses are also argued to be a colonial technology for the United States to re-structuralise the population of the Philippines based on their political priorities at the time of enumeration. The presentation of the census as a colonial technology converges the narrative of imperial network in Chapter 3 and institutional interactions in Chapter 4 through the analyses of scientific-versus- administrative racial classifications found in the censuses.

This study proposes an alternative approach to historical research of scientific activities in a colonial setting. Science has been discussed in attribute to its universal appeal or its flexibility to adjust to meet different objectives or context. Either way, science possesses transferable qualities⁴. This study takes into consideration both the perception of universality and the contextualising effects of a scientific enterprise. Various actors emerged in this study, connected by ideas, sentiments, diplomacy, and scientific curiosities. Ultimately, these actors are assembled in a narrative⁵. The Philippines is central to this narrative, not only due to its historical experience having been colonised by Spain and the United States but also for its populations' diversity that attracted researchers since the nineteenth century. In the nucleus of the anthropological studies in the Philippines, I find both the universal and the situational characteristics of colonial scientific undertakings. Therefore, instead of looking at history thematically or chronologically to understand the root and form of scientific practice in a colonised polity, this thesis focuses on interactions to form a coherent narrative. In turn, this contributes to the understanding that science in a colonial setting is only a part of a more extensive network of interactions which took place within and beyond its spatial and temporal background.

⁴ David Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press), pp.1-16; Steven Shapin, 'Placing the View from Nowhere: Historical and Sociological Problems in the Location of Science', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Volume 23, no. 1, (1998): 5-12, pp. 6-9. Diversity of science in this case, is also the diversification of the meanings assigned to historical facts. See E.H. Carr, *What is History*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p.148.

⁵ The convergence of narrative here does not discount the discontinuities of events and interactions between actors. See Chapter 1, section 1.7. Additionally, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London & New York: Routledge, 1966/2002), pp. 235-237.

6.2 Reflecting on Race and Racialisation in the Philippines

Race and racial classification in the Philippines were shaped by the scientific and administrative components of the American civil government in the Philippines, as well as the imperial interactions that predated the occupation. However, there are collateral issues that come from the politics of racial categorisation and scientific practice that took place during the period. This extends to the present context, signifying the continuation and evolution of colonial racial taxonomy in modern-day Philippines.

6.2.1 *The Politics of Taxonomy and Scientific Practice*

In the conclusion of *The Blood of the Government*, Paul A. Kramer surmised the position of the Filipinos to the United States as consisting of two directions. First, coming from 'within'—in relation to America who offered guidance and tutelage, the Filipinos were a group which required and deserved reform. Alternatively, from 'without'—the view that the Filipinos were external forces that threatened American sovereignty in the islands and depicted as foreign and distant. Kramer stresses that the racialisation of the Philippines, in its essence, was formed to accommodate the imperialist's anxieties of their own 'racial purity' and the security of their borders⁶. The outcome was the implementation of policies to perpetuate racial divisions, either to distinguish the Filipinos from the Americans or from one group of Filipinos from another. Kramer opens an array of questions on the nature of racial categories created during the colonial period, particularly on the implicit motives of racial classifications as a manifestation of 'racial anxieties' experienced by the colonial authorities, and not just the assertion of control and power.

In this study, I steered from Kramer's arguments on race as part of colonial governance to make a more explicit reference to science as an essential tool to assert control as well as to manage 'racial anxieties'⁷. The use of science as a guiding principle to govern different racial groups juxtaposes the 'universal' and the 'situational' elements of colonial science. The intertwining roles of American colonial institutions reveal both socio-political and scientific-empirical motives behind the

⁶ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, pp.434-435.

⁷ Ibid. Similarly expressed by Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), p.144 and p. 207.

idea of racial taxonomy in the Philippines. The BNCT mirrors the Washington-based ethnological institution, the BAE. Both institutions had parallel operations, to collect ethnological data and to organise them in a systematic taxonomy for administrative purposes. Yet, the BNCT operated differently. The BNCT had access to an immense collection of preceding studies on the Philippines by European colonial entities. The United States did not discontinue the use of German ethnological studies of the Philippines, but merely made revisions of the classifications used. Spain too, left a legacy of racial division by organising the population into Christians and non-Christians⁸. In this context, the BNCT had a tradition of research to refer to, as well as their own system to distinguish between what the Americans considered as the 'civilised' and the 'wild' among the Filipinos. The Hispanic Christians were accepted as the more 'civilised', but the non-Christians, being the primary subject matter of BNCT research, were classified as wild and uncivilised tribes. A racial hierarchy here is established at a primary level, dividing the two clusters of the population. Nonetheless, the scrutiny of government documents points to a series of more nuanced ethnological classifications of the non-Christian tribes. Therefore, a juxtaposition of socio-political and scientific motives leads to the question, what essentially had brought these motives to complement one another? In the case of the Philippines, the harmony of theories and methods of classification were conceived from a series of contacts with other imperial powers and formed a diorama of universalism that situate race as a scientific concept, which can be studied through a standardised method of observation and measurement.

Colonial institutions were often in conflict with one another on the best form of classifications to use. In the Philippines, physical anthropology was restricted almost exclusively to the non-Christian tribes which fell under the prerogative of the BNCT. There were no anthropological institutions to study the Christian tribes. Therefore, this disallowed for a coherent formulation of racial taxonomy that involved all members of the population. The administration took the initiative to formulate a classification that were distinct from the categorisation and taxonomy proposed by the BNCT, and this can be seen most clearly in the censuses. Furthermore, while classifications in government records and the censuses were not consistently called 'racial classification', there were clear application of anthropological knowledge and

⁸ Discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. This is also relatable to the question posed by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp.8-9.

adherence to scientific principles in these 'racial' schemes that I find it safe to conclude that racial taxonomy in the Philippines were considered scientific by colonial authorities.

Another issue on the politics of racial classification as this work has shown is its dependence on the nature of the colonial institution. Mary Jane Rodriguez traces the metamorphoses of the BNCT that started as an anthropological institution to become an agency in charge of social change for the non-Christians, and conclusively argues that the nature of colonial bureaux is identified by the authority that created it⁹. This is applicable to all the other institutions formed by the United States in the Philippines. The alteration of demographics during the era of Filipinization in 1914 onwards meant that there was a rising number of Filipino personnel in government bureaux. This can affect an institution's main objectives and how it is run. Rodriguez mentions that racialised knowledge was prevalent in BNCT at the beginning of its establishment, but gradually, this knowledge received a native interpretation that 'shaped the perception of natives among themselves'¹⁰. As I have demonstrated earlier, this is equally applicable to the Census Bureau, and the entire institutional network involved in this narrative of racial classification.

Albeit the influx of the natives as personnel of colonial institutions, the process of indigenisation was not swift and comprehensive. According to Syed Farid Alatas, the indigenisation of a colonial institution was a de-colonising effort that aimed to re-model colonial institutions and ensure that native or indigenous needs are met¹¹. The United States did encourage Filipino participation in politics and administration. Part of the American policy of benevolent assimilation was to facilitate the Filipinos on self-governance and give them independence. Yet, the institutions created by the United States did not remove entirely the colonial modes of governance even when

⁹ Mary Jane Rodriguez, 'Reading a Colonial Bureau: The Politics of Cultural Investigation of the Non-Christian Filipinos', *Social Science Diliman*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2010): 1–27.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

¹¹ Syed Farid Alatas, 'Indigenization: Features and Problems', in *Asian Anthropology*, edited by Jan van Bremen, Eyal Ben-Ari and Syed Farid Alatas (London and New York: Routledge, 2005): 227-244, p.233. Also refer to the same volume, Vineeta Sinha, "'Indigenizing' Anthropology in India: Problematics of Negotiating an Indentity': 139-161, pp.140.

it's personnel were made of a majority of Filipinos¹². The clearest example of this was the continuity of discrepant policies for the Christians and non-Christian tribes. Alatas attributes the endurance of colonial characteristics in an 'indigenised institution' as a problem with the degree of which colonial philosophical foundations were embedded in these institutions. An institution may appear decolonised due to its changing directions, but the foundation of its ideas may only be minimally compromised by decolonising efforts.

The politics of racial taxonomy were not only affecting what was perceived as the scientific conceptualisation of race and the scientific processes that legitimised the schematisation of racial groups in the Philippines. This thesis has shown that racial classification and taxonomy were on its own, an initiative propelled by imperial ambitions and the collateral factors involved such as the knowledge exchanged between imperial actors and diplomatic ambitions. Consequently, the imperial worldviews become absorbed into local institutions, even after the American occupation. In relation to this, the argument made by Alatas earlier evokes the question: how can 'indigenisation' be applied in the Philippines given the intricacies of connectedness which bound several imperial entities together?

6.2.2 Prevalence of a Colonial Taxonomy

The colonial government of Spain, and later, the United States had created a dichotomisation of the population that recognised an individual as either Christian or non-Christian. The racialised policies that were implemented put emphasis on this racial dichotomy¹³. This dichotomy has several lasting implications to the current racial administration of the Philippines. The population dichotomy of the Filipinos were augmented through disparate administrative policies of the United States¹⁴. The non-Christians were consistently portrayed as 'the others', occupying a lower stratum in the evolving social and political spheres of post-independence Philippines. While steps were taken by the Filipino government after the independence in 1946 to identify a more 'internally constructed' realities of

¹² See Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista, 'The Social Sciences in the Philippines: Reflections of Trends and Developments', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 48, no.2, (2000): 175-208, pp. 177-178.

¹³ See Chapter 4.

¹⁴ See Chapter 4.

differences, here implying a government of Filipinos for the Filipinos, the external reality—referring to ‘authority-defined’ reality¹⁵ -- was constructed by the colonial authorities. The non-Christians were scrutinised and presented by the colonial government as ethnological subjects that had, in time, become distant and unique from the majority of Filipinos that the republic projected today¹⁶. As the nation’s industries and economies progressed, the original notion of unity seem less and less apparent, as the formerly constructed racial boundaries began to exhibit itself through racial tensions, escalation of violence, and increased supervision from the central government to territories recognised as being populated by a majority of indigenous peoples.

Today, one of the most significant consequences of the colonial racializing policy is the struggle to legally claim ownership to ancestral lands. The issue of the ancestral lands is predicated on the struggle of ownership between the Philippine government and the indigenous people of various agricultural, residential and uncultivated forest lands all over the Cordillera, Mindanao and Sulu regions. The enactment of the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA) granted indigenous people collective rights to acquire legitimate land title or the Certificate of Ancestral Domain (CADC). Studies on the effects of the IPRA generally agree that while it was a positive step towards realising a more egalitarian society in the Philippines, it has created several social and political spasms between the indigenous communities and the Filipino government. Titia Schippers and Ben S. Malayang III explain that to qualify for a CADC, a community must first ‘prove’ their indigenusness through cultural, social and historical continuities with ethnological classifications, including abiding by tribal laws and customs. The nuances of colonial classifications that are endorsed by the IPRA stipulates that the proper ethnological classification to file for collective claims on ancestral lands must come from ‘tribes’ that were recognised as ‘non-Christians’¹⁷. In addition, the bureaucratic process of the CADC application does not

¹⁵ Shamsul A.B. and Athi S.M., ‘Ethnicity and Identity Formation: Colonial Knowledge, Colonial Structures and Transition’, from *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia*, edited by Meredith L. Weiss (London: Routledge, 2014): 267-279, p.268.

¹⁶ Baybado, ‘Beyond Colonization’, pp.38-39; Schippers, ‘Securing Land Rights’, p.223; Rodriguez, ‘Reading a Colonial Bureau’, p.5.

¹⁷ Titia Schippers, ‘Securing Land Rights through Indigenusness: The Case for the Philippine Cordillera Highlands’, *Asia Journal of Social Science*, vol. 38 (2010): 220-238, p.223; Ben S. Malayang III, ‘Tenure Rights and Ancestral Domains in the Philippines: A

recognise several factors that may impede claimants' 'indigenouness', particularly in cases whereby claimants may have migrated, diverted from traditional economic activities generally associated with their tribe, or intermarried with members of other 'racial' groups.

While the applicability of the IPRA depends on the display of 'indigenouness' by respective claimants, post-independence Philippines were construed on developing a common identity. Deirdre McKay clarifies that the Filipino identity, defined by the use of Tagalog as a common tongue drew largely on an amalgamation of Malay and Hispanicised culture and masked the cultural and linguistic aspects of the non-Christian minorities¹⁸. Renato Constantino relates this re-construction of the post-independence Filipino identity to the infiltration of 'foreign influences' that saturated Filipino consciousness. Constantino further argued that due to the dependency on the United States or the 'Americanization' of the Filipino consciousness, the sense of identity that is currently developed is unoriginal¹⁹. These two arguments point to one common crisis in the modern Philippines— producing original ideas on nation-building that are based on local or indigenous values and principles. The consideration for 'indigenouness' in the Philippines is variegated by identities that are usually related to ethnicity or tribes. The requirement to claim ancestral land under the IPRA, in this case, is counter-intuitive to the nationalistic agenda of the newly independent republic in 1946. The principal objective of the IPRA is noble and was sought after by the indigenous peoples of the modern Philippine Republic, yet the idea and structure of the act embody colonial racialised policies and categories of the population.

In the discussions in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I presented an analyses of interactions between imperial and institutional actors that had impacted the creation of racial categories and taxonomy in the Philippines. In these discussions, I have argued that race and racial taxonomy can be concluded as a social construction based on the scientific understanding of colonial powers, which expand the arguments made by McKay and Constantino on the origin and condition of the

Study of the Roots in Conflict', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, The Philippines Historical and Social Studies, vol. 157, no. 3, (2001): 661-676, p.663.

¹⁸ Deirdre McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no.3, (2006): 291-306, p.300.

¹⁹ Renato Constantino, 'Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 6, no. 2, (1976): 129-147, pp. 143-144.

Filipino identity. The United States, and prior to that, Spain and Germany had contributed to the foundations of anthropological studies of the people in the Philippines. The claimants for the ancestral lands in the Philippines therefore, had to appeal to the 'indigenouness' that are extensions of colonial scientific categorisation, whereby in today's context, 'indigenous' is interpreted as non-Christians. Even the unity of identity, here referring to 'Filipino' is arguably an identity that was also formed through the colonisation of consciousness.

Racialisation also permeates Filipino historiography. In Chapter 1, *section 1.7.b*, I have discerned the issue of defining 'native' Filipino historical sources. The analyses in this study have so far incorporated 'indigenouness' or 'nativeness' as being both represented by written historical sources and ethnological reports by external observers. There is a subdued presence of the non-Christians in the production of archival materials. Generally, the non-Christians are known as subjects of anthropological enquiries, and it is almost exclusively from anthropology that anything about them can be extracted. Meanwhile, as my references and my arguments in Chapter 4 have demonstrated, there are considerable amount of materials produced by the Christian population during the American occupation or even earlier. These materials resonated the struggle for nationhood, unity and independence. Yet, what is lacking is that these materials only represent a partial of the population in the Philippines. For most part, there is an 'silence' from non-Christians in these archival materials.

The 'silence' of the non-Christians in primary sources, or the absence of any sources written by members of the non-Christian tribes, can best be summarised as a repercussion of racialised policies itself. The Filipino voice in historical texts resonates with the issue of ethnic, or class representation in the colonial and post-colonial government²⁰. The lack of non-Christian representation in many government institutions in the Philippines after independence is a direct colonial legacy. The different education opportunities discussed earlier, and the unequal economic prospects for the two classes of the population is hardly presented in historical sources published in the era just after independence. The idea of nationhood and egalitarianism encourages scholarship of unity. Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda

²⁰ Weena Gera, 'The Politics of Ethnic Representation in Philippine Bureaucracy', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 39, no.5, (2016): 858-877.

Francisco term this as 'right-wing' historical literature²¹. I echo their argument by demonstrating how the absence of a diverse but coherent Filipino voice in historical sources attest to the issue of partial representation in other areas as well.

One primary example is that in official American colonial reports and by post-independence Filipino historical literature, on the absence of political participation from the Negritos. The Negritos were constantly portrayed as 'barbaric', hence located in the lowest stratum social stratum. Their 'barbarity' cripples their ability to organise their communities politically. Yet, in the General Order no. 30, dated 22nd of July 1899 from the Office of the Military Government of the Philippine Islands (1898-1901), written under the command of General Otis, there was a mention of an official recognition from the Negrito peoples of the sovereignty of the United States over the Cordillera²². Furthermore, the General Order no. 30 stipulates provisions for the government of Negritos, including the rights of the Negrito people to elect an American civil governor to represent them. While the provisions were never realised by the civil government which took over the military government in 1901, the formal recognition which supposedly was given by the people of Negrito to the United States suggests the existence of a more sophisticated society whereby political organisation was possible²³. None of this was explicitly mentioned in any *Reports of the Philippine Commission*, the censuses nor acknowledged in post-independence historical literature.

In conclusion, what is native or indigenous in historical writings are situational and contingent. In the context of American-Filipino relation, the sole representation from the Hispanic group can be argued as native. As the context is narrowed down to nation-building and unity after independence, the Christian representation is insufficient. In the historiography of colonial Philippines, the dichotomisation of the population is only ever visible in the construction of a racial narrative, while in other areas of history, the indigenous identity as a separate unit from the Hispanic population is often submerged beneath the language of unity and generalisations. Racial classification by the colonial government informs us of the fundamental flaw

²¹ Jonathan Fast and Luzviminda Francisco, 'Philippine Historiography and the Demystification of Imperialism: A Review Essay', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 4, no.3, (1974): 344-358, p.349.

²² General Order no. 30, 'Negros', 22nd July 1899, PPMS 26/1/3, Files 21-25, Ifor B. Powell Collection, SOAS Special Collections.

²³ Ibid.

of race as a scientific concept in a colonial setting. Colonial authorities, while in the authority of producing knowledge and shaping policies that have implications to future race relations, were also inclined to consider local circumstances to adopt what was at the onset of modern colonialism in the 1890's, universally understood principles of science.

6.3 Limitations of Research

The primary challenge of writing this thesis was setting the perimeter of interactions. I noted that imperial actors built relationships for political and economic reasons, and these motives overlapped with ideas of kinship and racial superiority. The United States in this instance was once a British colony. At the start of the twentieth century, its elites constituted of migrants from the British Isles and Germany. Additionally, many countries in Asia began to depend on Western imperial powers for commerce and diplomatic alliances. Knowledge exchanges and political alliances can be built from these historical settings. I narrowed my focus by keeping to interactions that had direct or potential implications on the Philippines. By doing so, I have disregarded the collateral developments that may have taken place outside of the tempo-spatial realm of my study, including discussions on biological sciences which pre-dated anthropology in the eighteenth century.

While I introduced many actors in the history of racial classification of the Philippines, it is undeniable that they were not equally represented. I have selected my focus on the United States, and considerations were also given to Spain and Germany. While the role of Britain was significant to the annexation of the Philippines in 1898, given that the access route to China was vital to British commercial interests in Southeast Asia, I only looked into the parallel drawn between the governance of the Malays in the Philippines and the Malays in Mindanao as indicator of interdependency and regressed relationship between Britain and the United States. This choice was made consciously to address only the interaction that had any significance to race and racialisation which took place in the Philippines.

6.4 Suggestions for Future Research

The racial classification of the Filipinos that was formulated during the American period was aligned with the scientific rationale of the era. The establishment of the BNCT and the data-driven policies that complemented anthropological research at the turn of the century assured that the perception of an objective classification of the non-Christians was maintained. Therefore, it can be argued that there was a scientific rationale that was used to manage racial anxieties of the United States in terms of embracing or coercing the Filipinos into assimilation²⁴. The most pressing issue that arises from this line of enquiry is the sense of legitimacy that science gives to the pursuit of racial classifications. Colonial science struggled to maintain a 'universal' approach to the studies of colonised subjects and resources²⁵. *Future studies can examine how racial classification evolved over the period of de-colonisation in a specific geographical setting. Additionally, comparisons can also be made between parallel societies, specifically in Asia, on how de-colonisation of institutions affected notions of racial divide that was created by colonial scientific pursuits.*

There is an extensive collection of ethnological literature by American ethnographers from 1902 to 1949 that discusses the cultural and physical attributes of each tribe in detail. The vast ethnological materials from the American period warrants its own study into the uniqueness of American anthropology in the different geographical setting. While there have been many studies of American anthropology cited throughout this thesis, *there is a literary gap on how American anthropologists negotiated with 'standardised' methods and theories outside of the United States. Following this line of enquiry can also elicit an investigation on how the Philippines reciprocally contributed to the discipline as practised in American institutions.*

²⁴ Ann Laura Stoler argues, in the instance of the Dutch government, the inculcation of science into colonial administration was equally an attempt to depict the colonial authority as enlightened. The context of which is in many ways similar for the United States. See Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp.67-69.

²⁵ Alatas, 'Indigenization', pp. 227-228.

6.5 The Dissolution of Racial Categories or Fragmented Identities?

Among Filipinos, a conversation on 'race' no longer encompasses the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy. The claimants of ancestral lands may have to show evidence of their tribal citizenship or 'nativeness', but this does not necessarily represent a common problem for all Filipinos²⁶. Racial categories on a day to day basis splinters the 'pure' Filipinos from the 'mixed-race' Filipinos, and each of these 'categories' are construed through skin-colours²⁷. Colonialism may not have contributed to this particular racial classification, but it did create an understanding that there are fragments of Filipino identities. A hierarchy continues to exist. Is it racial? Or is it merely a term used to differentiate social class?

Currently in the Philippines, some group is still considered to be 'superior' to the other. Being half-European or half-white in the Philippines nowadays, and perhaps in any Southeast Asian society can bring about an elevation of status. There is a tendency to conform to a hierarchy based on colonial standards²⁸. An interviewer asked a half-Filipino, half-Nigerian respondent on Asian Boss: *'Why do you think there are more white Filipinos represented in the media [as compared to half-black Filipinos]?' Her answer surmises the prevalence of an intangible colonial social structure:*

Since Europeans and people of European descent colonised us and given the power they had in the past, they were probably revered by early Filipinos as those to look up to or the standard. It still manifests itself today, especially now in media, we see a lot of half-European, half-Filipino artists who are getting more attention than other people²⁹.

²⁶ McKay, 'Rethinking Indigenous Place', pp. 292-294.

²⁷ Based on conversations from Asian Boss. 'Being Half-Filipino in the Philippines'. YouTube Video. 14.38. (22nd November 2018). URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nJnn2d2XVw>. See also Joanne Laxamana Rondilla, 'Colonial Faces: Beauty and Skin Color Hierarchy in the Philippines and the United States'. PhD Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, (2012).

²⁸ Refer to quote taken from Asian Boss, 'Being Half-Filipino', in Chapter 1. Additionally, see Asian Boss. 'Filipinos on a Mixed-Race Filipina Winning Miss Universe'. 8.18. (6th April 2018). URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzQatvdmAEI>. Accessed 20th January 2019.

²⁹ Asian Boss, 'Being Half-Filipino'.

The historical narrative of race in the Philippines is bound by the dissonances of a series of colonial experiences. The occupying power needed objective and justifiable means to create from these 'natives' the most loyal and abiding subjects, and in the long run, how can this loyalty be 'internalised' without force or physical presence of the colonial administration. The formulation of racial taxonomy has repercussions that outlasted the American occupation. The United States throughout the entire occupation had not only formulated and perpetuated racial classifications but had imposed their views of morality and righteousness³⁰. The questions to ask at this point is, how can the Philippines in particular, or Southeast Asia in a broader context, re-assemble the fragments of tribal, racial or national identities so there can be a harmonious co-existence

³⁰ As discussed in Chapter 4. Also see Anne Paulet, 'To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines', *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2, (2007): 173-201; Theresa Ventura, 'Medicalizing Gutom: Hunger, Diet and Beriberi During the American Period', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 63, no.1, (2015): 36-69.

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